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Defoe

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PRECAUTIONARY MEASURES

He then takes up the gross [illegible]

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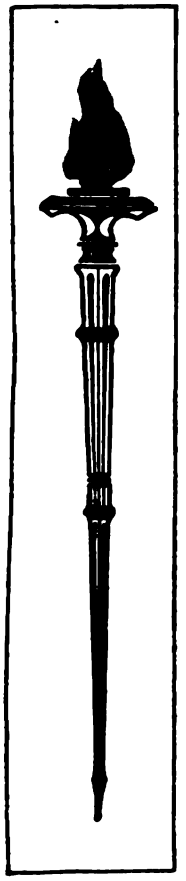


THE WORKS OF

Daniel Defoe

VOL. VII

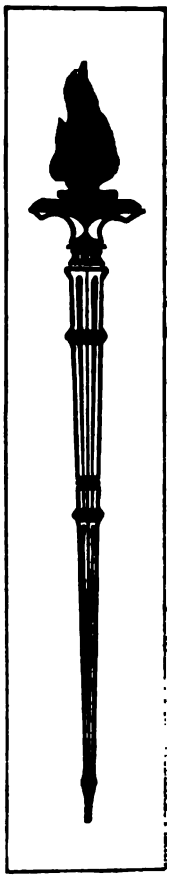
A Journal of the Plague Year

WRITTEN BY A CITIZEN WHO CONTINUED ALL THE WHILE IN LONDON

A New Voyage Round the World

BY A

COURSE NEVER SAILED BEFORE



INTRODUCTION BY GUSTAVUS HOWARD MAYNADIER

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INTRODUCTION

SO long as men are subject to disease, accounts of the terrible plague will be read with interest. It has been called the most destructive of epidemics; for when it rages most violently, from eighty-five to ninety-five per cent of those stricken die. The plague which still lurks in Asia and Africa, and now and again threatens Europe and America, seems to be the same disease which appalled England in 1665, and, more than three hundred years before, drove Boccaccio's gay Florentines to the villa where the stories of the *Decameron* were told. The spots on the skin were formerly more common tokens of the disease than they are to-day; but the other symptoms, the fever, the vomiting, the frightful aches and pains, and the swellings or buboes in the neck, armpit, or groin — all these seem to have been the same in earlier visitations as now. In earlier times, likewise, rats were supposed to be carriers of the pestilence; in London in 1665, great numbers of them were killed, as they are killed to-day in most places where the plague breaks out. Moreover, the plague, after steadily losing ground for two centuries, till in western Europe it had become only a name, has, in the last decade, shown recuperative power which makes it once more a disease for western civilisation to consider. It has appeared recently in Austria, Portugal, Scotland, the United States,

Mexico, South America, and Australia.[1] In none of these places, to be sure, has it assumed dangerous proportions; the percentage of deaths among those stricken is very much smaller than it was in earlier times; it is evident that, in this age of more intelligent sanitation, the plague is far less dangerous than it used to be.[2] Still, the fact that so recently it has broken out in lands which for years had not known it, renders the plague something of a menace. When we read Defoe's account of the Great London Plague, we are reading of scenes which it is within the limits of possibility may be realised in our own time in the least cleanly cities of Europe or America.

It was because of contemporaneous interest in the disease that in less than two months after the appearance of *Moll Flanders*, Defoe brought out in March, 1722, *A Journal of the Plague Year: Being Observations or Memorials of the most Remarkable Occurrences, as well Publick as Private, which happened in London during the last Great Visitation in 1665. Written by a Citizen who continued all the while in London. Never made publick before.* At this time the plague, which had raged for two years in southern France, seemed to threaten England with another visitation. As Mr. Lee has shown,[3] Defoe was anxious to induce his countrymen to "make all possible preparation for the preservation of themselves and families." He could think of no better way of doing so than to picture vividly the horrors of the pestilence of 1665. Besides, Defoe was always ready to make capital, whether literary or otherwise, out of

[1] Compare the article on *Plague* in *The New Volumes of the Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1902.

[2] Nowadays in western lands, and among Europeans in eastern lands, the case mortality is under forty per cent.

[3] *Daniel Defoe*, London, 1869; I, p. 358.

anything that interested the public. Hence *The Journal of the Plague Year*.[1]

This *Journal* is a remarkable fabric of fact and imagination, the basis of which is probably the writer's own recollection. It seems to be established now that he was five or six years old during the Plague Year, instead of four as has been previously supposed, and therefore of an age to receive a pretty distinct impression of the gloom which overspread the city. During the next years of his childhood, he would naturally hear from the city people of his acquaintance many a tale of the pestilence, the most appalling experience they had known. The result would be a somewhat amorphous knowledge of the events of the Plague Year, which it would be possible for him, when he wished, to shape into definite narrative. In doing so, he would find help in such statistics as were accessible.

The narrative resulting from Defoe's combination of recollection, tradition, imagination, and statistics is the most artistic that he ever penned. More than any other it possesses artistic unity. It is, to be sure, not so hard to give unity to a work like the *Plague* as to a story like *Moll Flanders*. In the *Plague*, as to a great extent in *Robinson Crusoe*, the subject matter arranges itself. When a writer places his hero on a small desert island, he is prevented by the very situation from digressing far; it is almost inevitable that everything he writes shall seem pertinent to the story. Again, when he chooses as his theme the visitation of a pestilence in a great city, he chooses one to which it is easy to give unity. He will naturally begin with the first threatening rumours of the pestilence, then add by degrees to

[1] *Due Preparations for the Plague* was written about the same time and for the same reasons.

the sombreness of his narrative till he reaches his gloomy climax, and end with the joy of the people at the passing of the visitation. Defoe's unsurpassed power of circumstantial vividness would nowhere stand him in better stead than in such a story; to a reader anxious to learn the conditions of plague-stricken London, every additional anecdote or incident would be of interest. It is for this reason that the *Journal of the Plague Year* contains very little that is superfluous. The adventures of either Moll Flanders or Captain Singleton might have been abridged without altering the effect of the book in which they are related. If you cut out one of the stories about the plague, however, you lessen by just so much the vividness of the whole impression.[1]

In the Appendix will be found extracts from accounts of the Great Plague by contemporary writers. They show that Defoe did not deepen unduly the gloom of his pictures of the pestilence.

G. H. MAYNADIER.

[1] Mention of several contemporary accounts of the Great Plague, as well as accounts of other visitations of the pestilence, will be found in Henry R. Plomer's *Literature of the Plague*, *The Library*, III, 209.

A JOURNAL OF
THE PLAGUE YEAR

IT was about the beginning of September 1664, that I, among the rest of my neighbours, heard, in ordinary discourse, that the plague was returned again in Holland; for it had been very violent there, and particularly at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, in the year 1663, whither, they say, it was brought, some said from Italy, others from the Levant, among some goods, which were brought home by their Turkey fleet; others said it was brought from Candia; others from Cyprus. It mattered not from whence it came; but all agreed it was come into Holland again.

We had no such thing as printed newspapers in those days to spread rumours and reports of things, and to improve them by the invention of men, as I have lived to see practised since. But such things as those were gathered from the letters of merchants and others who corresponded abroad, and from them was handed about by word of mouth only; so that things did not spread instantly over the whole nation, as they do now. But it seems that the Government had a true account of it, and several councils were held about ways to prevent its coming over; but all was kept very private. Hence it was that this rumour died off again, and people began to forget it, as a thing we were very little concerned in, and that we hoped was not true, till the latter end of Novem-

ber or the beginning of December 1664, when two men, said to be Frenchmen, died of the plague in Long Acre, or rather at the upper end of Drury Lane. The family they were in endeavoured to conceal it as much as possible, but as it had gotten some vent in the discourse of the neighbourhood, the Secretaries of State got knowledge of it, and concerning themselves to inquire about it, in order to be certain of the truth, two physicians and a surgeon were ordered to go to the house and make inspection. This they did; and finding evident tokens of the sickness upon both the bodies that were dead, they gave their opinions publicly that they died of the plague. Whereupon it was given in to the parish clerk, and he also returned them to the Hall; and it was printed in the weekly bill of mortality in the usual manner, thus —

Plague, 2. *Parishes infected*, 1.

The people showed a great concern at this, and began to be alarmed all over the town, and the more, because in the last week in December 1664 another man died in the same house, and of the same distemper. And then we were easy again for about six weeks, when none having died with any marks of infection, it was said the distemper was gone; but after that, I think it was about the 12th of February, another died in another house, but in the same parish and in the same manner.

This turned the people's eyes pretty much towards that end of the town, and the weekly bills showing an increase of burials in St. Giles's parish more than usual, it began to be suspected that the plague was among the people at that end of the town, and that many had died of it, though they had taken care to keep it as much from the knowledge of the public as

possible. This possessed the heads of the people very much, and few cared to go through Drury Lane, or the other streets suspected, unless they had extraordinary business, that obliged them to it.

This increase of the bills stood thus: the usual number of burials in a week, in the parishes of St. Giles-in-the-Fields and St. Andrew, Holborn, were from twelve to seventeen or nineteen each, few more or less; but from the time that the plague first began in St. Giles's parish, it was observed that the ordinary burials increased in number considerably. For example: —

From December 27 to January 3	St. Giles's	16
	St. Andrew's	17
" January 3 " " 10	St. Giles's	12
	St. Andrew's	25
" January 10 " " 17	St. Giles's	18
	St. Andrew's	18
" January 17 " " 24	St. Giles's	23
	St. Andrew's	16
" January 24 " " 31	St. Giles's	24
	St. Andrew's	15
" January 30 " February 7	St. Giles's	21
	St. Andrew's	23
" February 7 " " 14	St. Giles's	24

Whereof one of the plague.

The like increase of the bills was observed in the parishes of St. Bride, adjoining on one side of Holborn parish, and in the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, adjoining on the other side of Holborn; in both which parishes the usual numbers that died weekly were from four to six or eight, whereas at that time they were increased as follows: —

From December 20 to December 27	St. Bride's	0
	St. James's	8
" December 27 to January 3	St. Bride's	6
	St. James's	9
" January 3 " " 10	St. Bride's	11
	St. James's	7
" January 10 " " 17	St. Bride's	12
	St. James's	9

From January 17 to January 24 . .	St. Bride's . .	9
	St. James's . .	15
" January 24 " " 31 . .	St. Bride's . .	8
	St. James's . .	12
" January 31 " February 7 . .	St. Bride's . .	13
	St. James's . .	5
" February 7 " " 14 . .	St. Bride's . .	12
	St. James's . .	6

Besides this, it was observed with great uneasiness by the people that the weekly bills in general increased very much during these weeks, although it was at a time of the year when usually the bills are very moderate.

The usual number of burials within the bills of mortality for a week was from about 240 or thereabouts to 300. The last was esteemed a pretty high bill; but after this we found the bills successively increasing, as follows: —

	Buried.	Increased.
December the 20th to the 27th	291	..
" 27th " 3rd January	349	58
January the 3rd " 10th "	394	45
" 10th " 17th "	415	21
" 17th " 24th "	474	59

This last bill was really frightful, being a higher number than had been known to have been buried in one week since the preceding visitation of 1656.

However, all this went off again, and the weather proving cold, and the frost, which began in December, still continuing very severe, even till near the end of February, attended with sharp though moderate winds, the bills decreased again, and the city grew healthy, and everybody began to look upon the danger as good as over; only that still the burials in St. Giles's continued high. From the beginning of April especially they stood at twenty-five each week, till the week from the 18th to the 25th, when there was buried in St. Giles's parish thirty, whereof

two of the plague and eight of the spotted-fever, which was looked upon as the same thing; likewise the number that died of the spotted-fever in the whole increased, being eight the week before, and twelve the week above named.

This alarmed us all again, and terrible apprehensions were among the people, especially the weather being now changed and growing warm, and the summer being at hand. However, the next week there seemed to be some hopes again; the bills were low, the number of the dead in all was but 388, there was none of the plague, and but four of the spotted-fever.

But the following week it returned again, and the distemper was spread into two or three other parishes, viz., St. Andrew's, Holborn; St. Clement Danes; and, to the great affliction of the city, one died within the walls, in the parish of St. Mary Woolchurch, that is to say, in Bearbinder Lane, near Stocks Market; in all there were nine of the plague and six of the spotted-fever. It was, however, upon inquiry, found that this Frenchman who died in Bearbinder Lane was one who, having lived in Long Acre, near the infected houses, had removed for fear of the distemper, not knowing that he was already infected.

This was the beginning of May, yet the weather was temperate, variable, and cool enough, and people had still some hopes. That which encouraged them was, that the city was healthy, the whole ninety-seven parishes buried but fifty-four, and we began to hope, that as it was chiefly among the people at that end of the town, it might go no farther; and the rather, because the next week, which was from the 9th of May to the 16th, there died but three, of which not one within the whole city or liberties; and St. Andrew's buried but fifteen, which was very low. 'T is true St. Giles's buried two-and-thirty, but

still, as there was but one of the plague, people began to be easy. The whole bill also was very low, for the week before the bill was but 347, and the week above mentioned but 343. We continued in these hopes for a few days, but it was but for a few, for the people were no more to be deceived thus; they searched the houses, and found that the plague was really spread every way, and that many died of it every day. So that now all our extenuations abated, and it was no more to be concealed; nay, it quickly appeared that the infection had spread itself beyond all hopes of abatement; that in the parish of St. Giles it was gotten into several streets, and several families lay all sick together; and, accordingly, in the weekly bill for the next week the thing began to show itself. There was indeed but fourteen set down of the plague, but this was all knavery and collusion, for in St. Giles's parish they buried forty in all, whereof it was certain most of them died of the plague, though they were set down of other distempers; and though the number of all the burials were not increased above thirty-two, and the whole bill being but 385, yet there was fourteen of the spotted-fever, as well as fourteen of the plague; and we took it for granted upon the whole that there were fifty died that week of the plague.

The next bill was from the 23rd of May to the 30th, when the number of the plague was seventeen. But the burials in St. Giles's were fifty-three — a frightful number! — of whom they set down but nine of the plague; but on an examination more strictly by the justices of the peace, and at the Lord Mayor's request, it was found there were twenty more who were really dead of the plague in that parish, but had been set down of the spotted-fever or other distempers, besides others concealed.

But those were trifling things to what followed

immediately after; for now the weather set in hot, and from the first week in June the infection spread in a dreadful manner, and the bills rose high; the articles of the fever, spotted-fever, and teeth began to swell; for all that could conceal their distempers did it, to prevent their neighbours shunning and refusing to converse with them, and also to prevent authority shutting up their houses, which though it was not yet practised, yet was threatened, and people were extremely terrified at the thoughts of it.

The second week in June, the parish of St. Giles, where still the weight of the infection lay, buried 120, whereof, though the bills said but sixty-eight of the plague, everybody said there had been 100 at least, calculating it from the usual number of funerals in that parish, as above.

Till this week the city continued free, there having never any died, except that one Frenchman whom I mentioned before, within the whole ninety-seven parishes. Now there died four within the city, one in Wood Street, one in Fenchurch Street, and two in Crooked Lane. Southwark was entirely free, having not one yet died on that side of the water.

I lived without Aldgate, about midway between Aldgate Church and Whitechapel Bars, on the left hand or north side of the street; and as the distemper had not reached to that side of the city, our neighbourhood continued very easy. But at the other end of the town their consternation was very great; and the richer sort of people, especially the nobility and gentry from the west part of the city, thronged out of town with their families and servants in an unusual manner; and this was more particularly seen in Whitechapel; that is to say, the Broad Street where I lived; indeed, nothing was to be seen but waggons and carts, with goods, women, servants,

children, &c.; coaches filled with people of the better sort, and horsemen attending them, and all hurrying away; then empty waggons and carts appeared, and spare horses with servants, who, it was apparent, were returning or sent from the countries to fetch more people; besides innumerable numbers of men on horseback, some alone, others with servants, and, generally speaking, all loaded with baggage and fitted out for travelling, as any one might perceive by their appearance.

This was a very terrible and melancholy thing to see, and as it was a sight which I could not but look on from morning to night, for indeed there was nothing else of moment to be seen, it filled me with very serious thoughts of the misery that was coming upon the city, and the unhappy condition of those that would be left in it.

This hurry of the people was such for some weeks that there was no getting at the Lord Mayor's door without exceeding difficulty; there was such pressing and crowding there to get passes and certificates of health for such as travelled abroad, for without these there was no being admitted to pass through the towns upon the road, or to lodge in any inn. Now, as there had none died in the city for all this time, my Lord Mayor gave certificates of health without any difficulty to all those who lived in the ninety-seven parishes, and to those within the liberties too for a while.

This hurry, I say, continued some weeks, that is to say, all the month of May and June, and the more because it was rumoured that an order of the Government was to be issued out to place turnpikes and barriers on the road to prevent people travelling, and that the towns on the road would not suffer people from London to pass for fear of bringing the infection along with them, though neither of these

rumours had any foundation but in the imagination, especially at first.

I now began to consider seriously with myself concerning my own case, and how I should dispose of myself; that is to say, whether I should resolve to stay in London or shut up my house and flee, as many of my neighbours did. I have set this particular down so fully, because I know not but it may be of moment to those who come after me, if they come to be brought to the same distress, and to the same manner of making their choice; and therefore I desire this account may pass with them rather for a direction to themselves to act by than a history of my actings, seeing it may not be of one farthing value to them to note what became of me.

I had two important things before me: the one was the carrying on my business and shop, which was considerable, and in which was embarked all my effects in the world; and the other was the preservation of my life in so dismal a calamity as I saw apparently was coming upon the whole city, and which, however great it was, my fears perhaps, as well as other people's, represented to be much greater than it could be.

The first consideration was of great moment to me; my trade was a sadler, and as my dealings were chiefly not by a shop or chance trade, but among the merchants trading to the English colonies in America, so my effects lay very much in the hands of such. I was a single man, 't is true, but I had a family of servants whom I kept at my business; had a house, shop, and warehouses filled with goods; and, in short, to leave them all as things in such a case must be left, that is to say, without any overseer or person fit to be trusted with them, had been to hazard the loss not only of my trade, but of my goods, and indeed of all I had in the world.

I had an elder brother at the same time in London, and not many years before come over from Portugal, and advising with him, his answer was in three words, the same that was given in another case quite different, viz., "Master, save thyself." In a word, he was for my retiring into the country, as he resolved to do himself with his family; telling me, what he had, it seems, heard abroad, that the best preparation for the plague was to run away from it. As to my argument of losing my trade, my goods, or debts, he quite confuted me. He told me the same thing which I argued for my staying, viz., that I would trust God with my safety and health, was the strongest repulse to my pretensions of losing my trade and my goods; "for," says he, "is it not as reasonable that you should trust God with the chance or risk of losing your trade, as that you should stay in so eminent a point of danger, and trust Him with your life?"

I could not argue that I was in any strait as to a place where to go, having several friends and relations in Northamptonshire, whence our family first came from; and particularly, I had an only sister in Lincolnshire, very willing to receive and entertain me.

My brother, who had already sent his wife and two children into Bedfordshire, and resolved to follow them, pressed my going very earnestly; and I had once resolved to comply with his desires, but at that time could get no horse; for though it is true all the people did not go out of the city of London, yet I may venture to say, that in a manner all the horses did; for there was hardly a horse to be bought or hired in the whole city for some weeks. Once I resolved to travel on foot with one servant, and, as many did, lie at no inn, but carry a soldier's tent with us, and so lie in the fields, the weather being

very warm, and no danger from taking cold. I say, as many did, because several did so at last, especially those who had been in the armies in the war which had not been many years past; and I must needs say that, speaking of second causes, had most of the people that travelled done so, the plague had not been carried into so many country towns and houses as it was, to the great damage, and indeed to the ruin, of abundance of people.

But then my servant, whom I had intended to take down with me, deceived me; and being frighted at the increase of the distemper, and not knowing when I should go, he took other measures, and left me, so I was put off for that time; and, one way or other, I always found that to appoint to go away was always crossed by some accident or other, so as to disappoint and put it off again; and this brings in a story which otherwise might be thought a needless digression, viz., about these disappointments being from Heaven.

I mention this story also as the best method I can advise any person to take in such a case, especially if he be one that makes conscience of his duty, and would be directed what to do in it, namely, that he should keep his eye upon the particular providences which occur at that time, and look upon them complexly, as they regard one another, and as all together regard the question before him, and then, I think, he may safely take them for intimations from Heaven of what is his unquestioned duty to do in such a case; I mean as to going away from or staying in the place where we dwell, when visited with an infectious distemper.

It came very warmly into my mind one morning, as I was musing on this particular thing, that as nothing attended us without the direction or permission of Divine Power, so these disappointments

must have something in them extraordinary; and I ought to consider whether it did not evidently point out, or intimate to me, that it was the will of Heaven I should not go. It immediately followed in my thoughts, that if it really was from God that I should stay, He was able effectually to preserve me in the midst of all the death and danger that would surround me; and that if I attempted to secure myself by fleeing from my habitation, and acted contrary to these intimations, which I believed to be Divine, it was a kind of flying from God, and that He could cause His justice to overtake me when and where He thought fit.

These thoughts quite turned my resolutions again, and when I came to discourse with my brother again, I told him that I inclined to stay and take my lot in that station in which God had placed me, and that it seemed to be made more especially my duty, on the account of what I have said.

My brother, though a very religious man himself, laughed at all I had suggested about its being an intimation from Heaven, and told me several stories of such foolhardy people, as he called them, as I was; that I ought indeed to submit to it as a work of Heaven if I had been any way disabled by distempers or diseases, and that then not being able to go, I ought to acquiesce in the direction of Him, who, having been my Maker, had an undisputed right of sovereignty in disposing of me, and that then there had been no difficulty to determine which was the call of His providence and which was not; but that I should take it as an intimation from Heaven that I should not go out of town, only because I could not hire a horse to go, or my fellow was run away that was to attend me, was ridiculous, since at the same time I had my health and limbs, and other servants, and might with ease travel a day or two on

foot, and having a good certificate of being in perfect health, might either hire a horse or take post on the road, as I thought fit.

Then he proceeded to tell me of the mischievous consequences which attended the presumption of the Turks and Mahometans in Asia and in other places where he had been (for my brother, being a merchant, was a few years before, as I have already observed, returned from abroad, coming last from Lisbon), and how, presuming upon their professed predestinating notions, and of every man's end being predetermined and unalterably beforehand decreed, they would go unconcerned into infected places and converse with infected persons, by which means they died at the rate of ten or fifteen thousand a week, whereas the Europeans or Christian merchants, who kept themselves retired and reserved, generally escaped the contagion.

Upon these arguments my brother changed my resolutions again, and I began to resolve to go, and accordingly made all things ready; for, in short, the infection increased round me, and the bills were risen to almost seven hundred a week, and my brother told me he would venture to stay no longer. I desired him to let me consider of it but till the next day, and I would resolve; and as I had already prepared everything as well as I could as to my business, and whom to entrust my affairs with, I had little to do but to resolve.

I went home that evening greatly oppressed in my mind, irresolute, and not knowing what to do. I had set the evening wholly apart to consider seriously about it, and was all alone; for already people had, as it were by a general consent, taken up the custom of not going out of doors after sunset; the reasons I shall have occasion to say more of by-and-by.

In the retirement of this evening I endeavoured to

resolve, first, what was my duty to do, and I stated the arguments with which my brother had pressed me to go into the country, and I set against them the strong impressions which I had on my mind for staying; the visible call I seemed to have from the particular circumstance of my calling, and the care due from me for the preservation of my effects, which were, as I might say, my estate; also the intimations which I thought I had from Heaven, that to me signified a kind of direction to venture; and it occurred to me, that if I had what I might call a direction to stay, I ought to suppose it contained a promise of being preserved if I obeyed.

This lay close to me, and my mind seemed more and more encouraged to stay than ever, and supported with a secret satisfaction that I should be kept. Add to this, that, turning over the Bible which lay before me, and while my thoughts were more than ordinarily serious upon the question, I cried out, "Well, I know not what to do; Lord, direct me!" and the like; and at that juncture I happened to stop turning over the book at the 91st Psalm, and casting my eye on the second verse, I read on to the seventh verse exclusive, and after that included the tenth, as follows: "I will say of the Lord, He is my refuge and my fortress: my God, in Him will I trust. Surely He shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler, and from the noisome pestilence. He shall cover thee with His feathers, and under His wings shalt thou trust: His truth shall be thy shield and buckler. Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night; nor for the arrow that flieth by day; nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness; nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday. A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee. Only with thine eyes shalt thou behold and see the reward of the

wicked. Because thou hast made the Lord, which is my refuge, even the most High, thy habitation; there shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling," &c.

I scarce need tell the reader that from that moment I resolved that I would stay in the town, and casting myself entirely upon the goodness and protection of the Almighty, would not seek any other shelter whatever; and that, as my times were in His hands, He was as able to keep me in a time of the infection as in a time of health; and if He did not think fit to deliver me, still I was in His hands, and it was meet He should do with me as should seem good to Him.

With this resolution I went to bed; and I was further confirmed in it the next day by the woman being taken ill with whom I had intended to entrust my house and all my affairs. But I had a further obligation laid on me on the same side, for the next day I found myself very much out of order also, so that if I would have gone away, I could not; and I continued ill three or four days, and this entirely determined my stay; so I took my leave of my brother, who went away to Dorking, in Surrey, and afterwards fetched a round farther into Buckinghamshire or Bedfordshire, to a retreat he had found out there for his family.

It was a very ill time to be sick in, for if any one complained, it was immediately said he had the plague; and though I had indeed no symptoms of that distemper, yet being very ill, both in my head and in my stomach, I was not without apprehension that I really was infected; but in about three days I grew better; the third night I rested well, sweated a little, and was much refreshed. The apprehensions of its being the infection went also quite away with my illness, and I went about my business as usual.

These things, however, put off all my thoughts of

going into the country; and my brother also being gone, I had no more debate either with him or with myself on that subject.

It was now mid-July, and the plague, which had chiefly raged at the other end of the town, and, as I said before, in the parishes of St. Giles, St. Andrew, Holborn, and towards Westminster, began to now come eastward towards the part where I lived. It was to be observed, indeed, that it did not come straight on towards us; for the city, that is to say, within the walls, was indifferently healthy still; nor was it got then very much over the water into Southwark; for though there died that week 1268 of all distempers, whereof it might be supposed above 900 died of the plague, yet there was but twenty-eight in the whole city, within the walls, and but nineteen in Southwark, Lambeth parish included; whereas in the parishes of St. Giles and St. Martin-in-the-Fields alone there died 421.

But we perceived the infection kept chiefly in the out-parishes, which being very populous, and fuller also of poor, the distemper found more to prey upon than in the city, as I shall observe afterwards. We perceived, I say, the distemper to draw our way, viz., by the parishes of Clerkenwell, Cripplegate, Shoreditch, and Bishopsgate; which last two parishes joining to Aldgate, Whitechapel, and Stepney, the infection came at length to spread its utmost rage and violence in those parts, even when it abated at the western parishes where it began.

It was very strange to observe that in this particular week, from the 4th to the 11th of July, when, as I have observed, there died near 400 of the plague in the two parishes of St. Martin and St. Giles-in-the-Fields only, there died in the parish of Aldgate but four, in the parish of Whitechapel three, in the parish of Stepney but one.

Likewise in the next week, from the 11th of July to the 18th, when the week's bill was 1761, yet there died no more of the plague, on the whole Southwark side of the water, than sixteen.

But this face of things soon changed, and it began to thicken in Cripplegate parish especially, and in Clerkenwell; so that by the second week in August, Cripplegate parish alone buried 886, and Clerkenwell 155. Of the first, 850 might well be reckoned to die of the plague; and of the last, the bill itself said 145 were of the plague.

During the month of July, and while, as I have observed, our part of the town seemed to be spared in comparison of the west part, I went ordinarily about the streets, as my business required, and particularly went generally once in a day, or in two days, into the city, to my brother's house, which he had given me charge of, and to see if it was safe; and having the key in my pocket, I used to go into the house, and over most of the rooms, to see that all was well; for though it be something wonderful to tell, that any should have hearts so hardened in the midst of such a calamity as to rob and steal, yet certain it is that all sorts of villainies, and even levities and debaucheries, were then practised in the town as openly as ever — I will not say quite as frequently, because the numbers of people were many ways lessened.

But the city itself began now to be visited too, I mean within the walls; but the number of people there were indeed extremely lessened by so great a multitude having been gone into the country; and even all this month of July they continued to flee, though not in such multitudes as formerly. In August, indeed, they fled in such a manner that I began to think there would be really none but magistrates and servants left in the city.

As they fled now out of the city, so I should observe that the Court removed early, viz., in the month of June, and went to Oxford, where it pleased God to preserve them; and the distemper did not, as I heard of, so much as touch them, for which I cannot say that I ever saw they showed any great token of thankfulness, and hardly anything of reformation, though they did not want being told that their crying vices might, without breach of charity, be said to have gone far in bringing that terrible judgment upon the whole nation.

The face of London was now indeed strangely altered, I mean the whole mass of buildings, city, liberties, suburbs, Westminster, Southwark, and altogether; for as to the particular part called the city, or within the walls, that was not yet much infected. But in the whole the face of things, I say, was much altered; sorrow and sadness sat upon every face; and though some parts were not yet overwhelmed, yet all looked deeply concerned; and as we saw it apparently coming on, so every one looked on himself and his family as in the utmost danger. Were it possible to represent those times exactly to those that did not see them, and give the reader due ideas of the horror that everywhere presented itself, it must make just impressions upon their minds and fill them with surprise. London might well be said to be all in tears; the mourners did not go about the streets indeed, for nobody put on black or made a formal dress of mourning for their nearest friends; but the voice of mourning was truly heard in the streets. The shrieks of women and children at the windows and doors of their houses, where their dearest relations were perhaps dying, or just dead, were so frequent to be heard as we passed the streets, that it was enough to pierce the stoutest heart in the world to hear them. Tears and lamentations were

seen almost in every house, especially in the first part of the visitation; for towards the latter end men's hearts were hardened, and death was so always before their eyes, that they did not so much concern themselves for the loss of their friends, expecting that themselves should be summoned the next hour.

Business led me out sometimes to the other end of the town, even when the sickness was chiefly there; and as the thing was new to me, as well as to everybody else, it was a most surprising thing to see those streets which were usually so thronged now grown desolate, and so few people to be seen in them, that if I had been a stranger and at a loss for my way, I might sometimes have gone the length of a whole street, I mean of the by-streets, and seen nobody to direct me except watchmen set at the doors of such houses as were shut up, of which I shall speak presently.

One day, being at that part of the town on some special business, curiosity led me to observe things more than usually, and indeed I walked a great way where I had no business. I went up Holborn, and there the street was full of people, but they walked in the middle of the great street, neither on one side or other, because, as I suppose, they would not mingle with anybody that came out of houses, or meet with smells and scents from houses that might be infected.

The Inns of Court were all shut up; nor were very many of the lawyers in the Temple, or Lincoln's Inn, or Gray's Inn, to be seen there. Everybody was at peace; there was no occasion for lawyers; besides, it being in the time of the vacation too, they were generally gone into the country. Whole rows of houses in some places were shut close up, the inhabitants all fled, and only a watchman or two left.

When I speak of rows of houses being shut up, I

do not mean shut up by the magistrates, but that great numbers of persons followed the Court, by the necessity of their employments and other dependences; and as others retired, really frighted with the distemper, it was a mere desolating of some of the streets. But the fright was not yet near so great in the city, abstractly so called, and particularly because, though they were at first in a most inexpressible consternation, yet as I have observed that the distemper intermitted often at first, so they were, as it were, alarmed and unalarmed again, and this several times, till it began to be familiar to them; and that even when it appeared violent, yet seeing it did not presently spread into the city, or the east and south parts, the people began to take courage, and to be, as I may say, a little hardened. It is true a vast many people fled, as I have observed, yet they were chiefly from the west end of the town, and from that we call the heart of the city, that is to say, among the wealthiest of the people, and such people as were unencumbered with trades and business. But of the rest, the generality stayed, and seemed to abide the worst; so that in the place we call the Liberties, and in the suburbs, in Southwark, and in the east part, such as Wapping, Ratcliff, Stepney, Rotherhithe, and the like, the people generally stayed, except here and there a few wealthy families, who, as above, did not depend upon their business.

It must not be forgot here that the city and suburbs were prodigiously full of people at the time of this visitation, I mean at the time that it began; for though I have lived to see a further increase, and mighty throngs of people settling in London more than ever, yet we had always a notion that the numbers of people which, the wars being over, the armies disbanded, and the royal family and the monarchy being restored, had flocked to London to settle in business,

or to depend upon and attend the Court for rewards of services, preferments, and the like, was such that the town was computed to have in it above a hundred thousand people more than ever it held before; nay, some took upon them to say it had twice as many, because all the ruined families of the royal party flocked hither. All the old soldiers set up trades here, and abundance of families settled here. Again, the Court brought with them a great flux of pride and new fashions. All people were grown gay and luxurious, and the joy of the Restoration had brought a vast many families to London.

I often thought that as Jerusalem was besieged by the Romans when the Jews were assembled together to celebrate the Passover, by which means an incredible number of people were surprised there who would otherwise have been in other countries; so the plague entered London when an incredible increase of people had happened occasionally, by the particular circumstances above named. As this conflux of the people to a youthful and gay Court made a great trade in the city, especially in everything that belonged to fashion and finery, so it drew by consequence a great number of workmen, manufacturers, and the like, being mostly poor people who depended upon their labour. And I remember in particular, that in a representation to my Lord Mayor of the condition of the poor, it was estimated that there were no less than an hundred thousand riband-weavers in and about the city, the chiefest number of whom lived then in the parishes of Shoreditch, Stepney, Whitechapel, and Bishopsgate, that, namely, about Spitalfields; that is to say, as Spitalfields was then, for it was not so large as now by one fifth part.

By this, however, the number of people in the whole may be judged of; and, indeed, I often wondered that, after the prodigious numbers of people that

went away at first, there was yet so great a multitude left as it appeared there was.

But I must go back again to the beginning of this surprising time. While the fears of the people were young, they were increased strangely by several odd accidents, which put altogether, it was really a wonder the whole body of the people did not rise as one man and abandon their dwellings, leaving the place as a space of ground designed by Heaven for an Aceldama, doomed to be destroyed from the face of the earth, and that all that would be found in it would perish with it. I shall name but a few of these things; but sure they were so many, and so many wizards and cunning people propagating them, that I have often wondered there was any (women especially) left behind.

In the first place, a blazing star or comet appeared for several months before the plague, as there did the year after another, a little before the fire. The old women and the phlegmatic hypochondriac part of the other sex, whom I could almost call old women too, remarked (especially afterward, though not till both those judgments were over) that those two comets passed directly over the city, and that so very near the houses that it was plain they imported something peculiar to the city alone; that the comet before the pestilence was of a faint, dull, languid colour, and its motion very heavy, solemn, and slow; but that the comet before the fire was bright and sparkling, or, as others said, flaming, and its motion swift and furious; and that accordingly one foretold a heavy judgment, slow but severe, terrible and frightful, as was the plague; but the other foretold a stroke, sudden, swift, and fiery as the conflagration. Nay, so particular some people were, that as they looked upon that comet preceding the fire, they fancied that they not only saw it pass swiftly and fiercely, and could

perceive the motion with their eye, but even they heard it; that it made a rushing, mighty noise, fierce and terrible, though at a distance, and but just perceivable.

I saw both these stars, and, I must confess, had so much of the common notion of such things in my head, that I was apt to look upon them as the forerunners and warnings of God's judgments; and especially when, after the plague had followed the first, I yet saw another of the like kind, I could not but say God had not yet sufficiently scourged the city.

But I could not at the same time carry these things to the height that others did, knowing, too, that natural causes are assigned by the astronomers for such things, and that their motions and even their revolutions are calculated, or pretended to be calculated, so that they cannot be so perfectly called the forerunners or foretellers, much less the procurers, of such events as pestilence, war, fire, and the like.

But let my thoughts and the thoughts of the philosophers be, or have been, what they will, these things had a more than ordinary influence upon the minds of the common people, and they had almost universal melancholy apprehensions of some dreadful calamity and judgment coming upon the city; and this principally from the sight of this comet, and the little alarm that was given in December by two people dying at St. Giles's, as above.

The apprehensions of the people were likewise strangely increased by the error of the times, in which, I think, the people, from what principle I cannot imagine, were more addicted to prophecies and astrological conjurations, dreams, and old wives' tales than ever they were before or since. Whether this unhappy temper was originally raised by the follies of some people who got money by it, that is

to say, by printing predictions and prognostications, I know not; but certain it is, books frighted them terribly, such as Lilly's Almanack, Gadbury's Astrological Predictions, Poor Robin's Almanack, and the like; also several pretended religious books, one entitled, "Come out of her, my People, lest you be Partaker of her Plagues;" another called, "Fair Warning;" another, "Britain's Remembrancer;" and many such, all, or most part of which, foretold, directly or covertly, the ruin of the city. Nay, some were so enthusiastically bold as to run about the streets with their oral predictions, pretending they were sent to preach to the city; and one in particular, who, like Jonah to Nineveh, cried in the streets, "Yet forty days, and London shall be destroyed." I will not be positive whether he said yet forty days or yet a few days. Another ran about naked, except a pair of drawers about his waist, crying day and night, like a man that Josephus mentions, who cried, "Woe to Jerusalem!" a little before the destruction of that city. So this poor naked creature cried, "Oh, the great and the dreadful God!" and said no more, but repeated those words continually, with a voice and countenance full of horror, a swift pace; and nobody could ever find him to stop or rest, or take any sustenance, at least that ever I could hear of. I met this poor creature several times in the streets, and would have spoke to him, but he would not enter into speech with me or any one else, but held on his dismal cries continually.

These things terrified the people to the last degree, and especially when two or three times, as I have mentioned already, they found one or two in the bills dead of the plague at St. Giles's.

Next to these public things were the dreams of old women, or, I should say, the interpretation of old women upon other people's dreams; and these put

abundance of people even out of their wits. Some heard voices warning them to be gone, for that there would be such a plague in London, so that the living would not be able to bury the dead. Others saw apparitions in the air; and I must be allowed to say of both, I hope without breach of charity, that they heard voices that never spake, and saw sights that never appeared, but the imagination of the people was really turned wayward and possessed. And no wonder, if they who were poring continually at the clouds saw shapes and figures, representations and appearances, which had nothing in them but air and vapour. Here they told us they saw a flaming sword held in a hand coming out of a cloud, with a point hanging directly over the city; there they saw hearses and coffins in the air carrying to be buried; and there again, heaps of dead bodies lying unburied, and the like, just as the imagination of the poor terrified people furnished them with matter to work upon.

> "So hypochondriac fancies represent
> Ships, armies, battles in the firmament;
> Till steady eyes the exhalations solve,
> And all to its first matter, cloud, resolve."

I could fill this account with the strange relations such people gave every day of what they had seen; and every one was so positive of their having seen what they pretended to see, that there was no contradicting them without breach of friendship, or being accounted rude and unmannerly on the one hand, and profane and impenetrable on the other. One time before the plague was begun (otherwise than as I have said in St. Giles's), I think it was in March, seeing a crowd of people in the street, I joined with them to satisfy my curiosity, and found them all staring up into the air to see what a woman told

them appeared plain to her, which was an angel clothed in white, with a fiery sword in his hand, waving it or brandishing it over his head. She described every part of the figure to the life, showed them the motion and the form, and the poor people came into it so eagerly, and with so much readiness; "Yes, I see it all plainly," says one; "there's the sword as plain as can be." Another saw the angel. One saw his very face, and cried out what a glorious creature he was! One saw one thing, and one another. I looked as earnestly as the rest, but perhaps not with so much willingness to be imposed upon; and I said, indeed, that I could see nothing but a white cloud, bright on one side by the shining of the sun upon the other part. The woman endeavoured to show it me, but could not make me confess that I saw it, which, indeed, if I had I must have lied. But the woman, turning upon me, looked in my face, and fancied I laughed, in which her imagination deceived her too, for I really did not laugh, but was very seriously reflecting how the poor people were terrified by the force of their own imagination. However, she turned from me, called me profane fellow, and a scoffer; told me that it was a time of God's anger, and dreadful judgments were approaching, and that despisers such as I should wander and perish.

The people about her seemed disgusted as well as she; and I found there was no persuading them that I did not laugh at them, and that I should be rather mobbed by them than be able to undeceive them. So I left them; and this appearance passed for as real as the blazing star itself.

Another encounter I had in the open day also; and this was in going through a narrow passage from Petty France into Bishopsgate Churchyard, by a row of alms-houses. There are two churchyards to

Bishopsgate church or parish; one we go over to pass from the place called Petty France into Bishopsgate Street, coming out just by the church door; the other is on the side of the narrow passage where the alms-houses are on the left; and a dwarf-wall with a palisado on it on the right hand, and the city wall on the other side more to the right.

In this narrow passage stands a man looking through between the palisadoes into the burying-place, and as many people as the narrowness of the passage would admit to stop, without hindering the passage of others, and he was talking mighty eagerly to them, and pointing now to one place, then to another, and affirming that he saw a ghost walking upon such a gravestone there. He described the shape, the posture, and the movement of it so exactly that it was the greatest matter of amazement to him in the world that everybody did not see it as well as he. On a sudden he would cry, "There it is; now it comes this way." Then, "'T is turned back;" till at length he persuaded the people into so firm a belief of it, that one fancied he saw it, and another fancied he saw it; and thus he came every day making a strange hubbub, considering it was in so narrow a passage, till Bishopsgate clock struck eleven, and then the ghost would seem to start, and, as if he were called away, disappeared on a sudden.

I looked earnestly every way, and at the very moment that this man directed, but could not see the least appearance of anything; but so positive was this poor man, that he gave the people the vapours in abundance, and sent them away trembling and frighted, till at length few people that knew of it cared to go through that passage, and hardly anybody by night on any account whatever.

This ghost, as the poor man affirmed, made signs to the houses, and to the ground, and to the people,

plainly intimating, or else they so understanding it, that abundance of the people should come to be buried in that churchyard, as indeed happened; but that he saw such aspects I must acknowledge I never believed, nor could I see anything of it myself, though I looked most earnestly to see it, if possible.

These things serve to show how far the people were really overcome with delusions; and as they had a notion of the approach of a visitation, all their predictions ran upon a most dreadful plague, which should lay the whole city, and even the kingdom, waste, and should destroy almost all the nation, both man and beast.

To this, as I said before, the astrologers added stories of the conjunctions of planets in a malignant manner and with a mischievous influence, one of which conjunctions was to happen, and did happen, in October, and the other in November; and they filled the people's heads with predictions on these signs of the heavens, intimating that those conjunctions foretold drought, famine, and pestilence. In the two first of them, however, they were entirely mistaken, for we had no droughty season, but in the beginning of the year a hard frost, which lasted from December almost to March, and after that moderate weather, rather warm than hot, with refreshing winds, and, in short, very seasonable weather, and also several very great rains.

Some endeavours were used to suppress the printing of such books as terrified the people, and to frighten the dispersers of them, some of whom were taken up; but nothing was done in it, as I am informed, the Government being unwilling to exasperate the people, who were, as I may say, all out of their wits already.

Neither can I acquit those ministers that in their sermons rather sank than lifted up the hearts of

their hearers. Many of them no doubt did it for the strengthening the resolution of the people, and especially for quickening them to repentance, but it certainly answered not their end, at least not in proportion to the injury it did another way; and indeed, as God Himself through the whole Scriptures rather draws to Him by invitations and calls to turn to Him and live, than drives us by terror and amazement, so I must confess I thought the ministers should have done also, imitating our blessed Lord and Master in this, that His whole Gospel is full of declarations from heaven of God's mercy, and His readiness to receive penitents and forgive them, complaining, "Ye will not come unto Me that ye may have life," and that therefore His Gospel is called the Gospel of Peace and the Gospel of Grace.

But we had some good men, and that of all persuasions and opinions, whose discourses were full of terror, who spoke nothing but dismal things; and as they brought the people together with a kind of horror, sent them away in tears, prophesying nothing but evil tidings, terrifying the people with the apprehensions of being utterly destroyed, not guiding them, at least not enough, to cry to heaven for mercy.

It was, indeed, a time of very unhappy breaches among us in matters of religion. Innumerable sects and divisions and separate opinions prevailed among the people. The Church of England was restored, indeed, with the restoration of the monarchy, about four years before, but the ministers and preachers of the Presbyterians and Independents, and of all the other sorts of professions, had begun to gather separate societies and erect altar against altar, and all those had their meetings for worship apart, as they have now, but not so many then, the Dissenters being not thoroughly formed into a body as they are

since; and those congregations which were thus gathered together were yet but few. And even those that were the Government did not allow, but endeavoured to suppress them and shut up their meetings.

But the visitation reconciled them again, at least for a time, and many of the best and most valuable ministers and preachers of the Dissenters were suffered to go into the churches where the incumbents were fled away, as many were, not being able to stand it; and the people flocked without distinction to hear them preach, not much inquiring who or what opinion they were of. But after the sickness was over, that spirit of charity abated; and every church being again supplied with their own ministers, or others presented where the minister was dead, things returned to their old channel again.

One mischief always introduces another. These terrors and apprehensions of the people led them into a thousand weak, foolish, and wicked things, which they wanted not a sort of people really wicked to encourage them to, and this was running about to fortune-tellers, cunning-men, and astrologers to know their fortune, or, as it is vulgarly expressed, to have their fortunes told them, their nativities calculated, and the like; and this folly presently made the town swarm with a wicked generation of pretenders to magic, to the black art, as they called it, and I know not what; nay, to a thousand worse dealings with the devil than they were really guilty of. And this trade grew so open and so generally practised that it became common to have signs and inscriptions set up at doors: "Here lives a fortune-teller," "Here lives an astrologer," "Here you may have your nativity calculated," and the like; and Friar Bacon's brazen-head, which was the usual sign of these people's dwellings, was to be seen almost in

every street, or else the sign of Mother Shipton, or of Merlin's head, and the like.

With what blind, absurd, and ridiculous stuff these oracles of the devil pleased and satisfied the people I really know not, but certain it is that innumerable attendants crowded about their doors every day. And if but a grave fellow in a velvet jacket, a band, and a black cloak, which was the habit those quack-conjurers generally went in, was but seen in the streets the people would follow them in crowds, and ask them questions as they went along.

I need not mention what a horrid delusion this was, or what it tended to; but there was no remedy for it till the plague itself put an end to it all, and, I suppose, cleared the town of most of those calculators themselves. One mischief was, that if the poor people asked these mock astrologers whether there would be a plague or no, they all agreed in general to answer "Yes," for that kept up their trade. And had the people not been kept in a fright about that, the wizards would presently have been rendered useless, and their craft had been at an end. But they always talked to them of such-and-such influences of the stars, of the conjunctions of such-and-such planets, which must necessarily bring sickness and distempers, and consequently the plague. And some had the assurance to tell them the plague was begun already, which was too true, though they that said so knew nothing of the matter. The ministers, to do them justice, and preachers of most sorts that were serious and understanding persons, thundered against these and other wicked practices, and exposed the folly as well as the wickedness of them together, and the most sober and judicious people despised and abhorred them. But it was impossible to make any impression upon the middling people and the working labouring poor. Their fears were

predominant over all their passions, and they threw away their money in a most distracted manner upon those whimsies. Maid-servants especially, and men-servants, were the chief of their customers, and their question generally was, after the first demand of "Will there be a plague?" I say, the next question was, "Oh, sir! for the Lord's sake, what will become of me? Will my mistress keep me, or will she turn me off? Will she stay here, or will she go into the country? And if she goes into the country, will she take me with her, or leave me here to be starved and undone?" And the like of men-servants.

The truth is, the case of poor servants was very dismal, as I shall have occasion to mention again by-and-by, for it was apparent a prodigious number of them would be turned away, and it was so. And of them abundance perished, and particularly of those that these false prophets had flattered with hopes that they should be continued in their services, and carried with their masters and mistresses into the country; and had not public charity provided for these poor creatures, whose number was exceeding great, and in all cases of this nature must be so, they would have been in the worst condition of any people in the city.

These things agitated the minds of the common people for many months, while the first apprehensions were upon them, and while the plague was not, as I may say, yet broken out. But I must also not forget that the more serious part of the inhabitants behaved after another manner. The Government encouraged their devotion, and appointed public prayers and days of fasting and humiliation, to make public confession of sin and implore the mercy of God to avert the dreadful judgment which hung over their heads; and it is not to be expressed with what alacrity the people of all persuasions embraced

the occasion; how they flocked to the churches and meetings, and they were all so thronged that there was often no coming near, no, not to the very doors of the largest churches. Also there were daily prayers appointed morning and evening at several churches, and days of private praying at other places; at all which the people attended, I say, with an uncommon devotion. Several private families also, as well of one opinion as of another, kept family fasts, to which they admitted their near relations only. So that, in a word, those people who were really serious and religious applied themselves in a truly Christian manner to the proper work of repentance and humiliation, as a Christian people ought to do.

Again, the public showed that they would bear their share in these things; the very Court, which was then gay and luxurious, put on a face of just concern for the public danger. All the plays and interludes which, after the manner of the French Court, had been set up, and began to increase among us, were forbid to act; the gaming-tables, public dancing-rooms, and music-houses, which multiplied and began to debauch the manners of the people, were shut up and suppressed; and the jack-puddings, merry-andrews, puppet-shows, rope-dancers, and such-like doings, which had bewitched the poor common people, shut up their shops, finding indeed no trade; for the minds of the people were agitated with other things, and a kind of sadness and horror at these things sat upon the countenances even of the common people. Death was before their eyes, and everybody began to think of their graves, not of mirth and diversions.

But even those wholesome reflections, which, rightly managed, would have most happily led the people to fall upon their knees, make confession of their sins, and look up to their merciful Saviour for

pardon, imploring His compassion on them in such a time of their distress, by which we might have been as a second Nineveh, had a quite contrary extreme in the common people, who, ignorant and stupid in their reflections, as they were brutishly wicked and thoughtless before, were now led by their fright to extremes of folly; and, as I have said before that they ran to conjurers and witches, and all sorts of deceivers, to know what should become of them (who fed their fears, and kept them always alarmed and awake on purpose to delude them and pick their pockets), so they were as mad upon their running after quacks and mountebanks, and every practising old woman, for medicines and remedies; storing themselves with such multitudes of pills, potions, and preservatives, as they were called, that they not only spent their money, but even poisoned themselves beforehand, for fear of the poison of the infection, and prepared their bodies for the plague, instead of preserving them against it. On the other hand, it is incredible, and scarce to be imagined, how the posts of houses and corners of streets were plastered over with doctors' bills and papers of ignorant fellows, quacking and tampering in physic, and inviting the people to come to them for remedies, which was generally set off with such flourishes as these, viz.: "Infallible preventive pills against the plague." "Never-failing preservatives against the infection." "Sovereign cordials against the corruption of the air." "Exact regulations for the conduct of the body in case of an infection." "Anti-pestilential pills." "Incomparable drink against the plague, never found out before." "An universal remedy for the plague." "The only true plague water." "The royal antidote against all kinds of infection;" and such a number more that I cannot reckon up; and if I could, would fill a book of themselves to set them down.

Others set up bills to summon people to their lodgings for directions and advice in the case of infection. These had specious titles also, such as these: —

"An eminent High Dutch physician, newly come over from Holland, where he resided during all the time of the great plague last year in Amsterdam, and cured multitudes of people that actually had the plague upon them."

"An Italian gentlewoman just arrived from Naples, having a choice secret to prevent infection, which she found out by her great experience, and did wonderful cures with it in the late plague there, wherein there died 20,000 in one day."

"An ancient gentlewoman, having practised with great success in the late plague in this city, anno 1636, gives her advice only to the female sex. To be spoke with," &c.

"An experienced physician, who has long studied the doctrine of antidotes against all sorts of poison and infection, has, after forty years' practice, arrived to such skill as may, with God's blessing, direct persons how to prevent their being touched by any contagious distemper whatsoever. He directs the poor gratis."

I take notice of these by way of specimen. I could give you two or three dozen of the like and yet have abundance left behind. 'T is sufficient from these to apprise any one of the humour of those times, and how a set of thieves and pickpockets not only robbed and cheated the poor people of their money, but poisoned their bodies with odious and fatal preparations; some with mercury, and some with other things as bad, perfectly remote from the thing pretended to, and rather hurtful than serviceable to the body in case an infection followed.

I cannot omit a subtilty of one of those quack operators, with which he gulled the poor people to crowd about him, but did nothing for them without money. He had, it seems, added to his bills, which he gave about the streets, this advertisement in capital letters, viz., "He gives advice to the poor for nothing."

Abundance of poor people came to him accordingly, to whom he made a great many fine speeches, examined them of the state of their health and of the constitution of their bodies, and told them many good things for them to do, which were of no great moment. But the issue and conclusion of all was, that he had a preparation which if they took such a quantity of every morning, he would pawn his life they should never have the plague; no, though they lived in the house with people that were infected. This made the people all resolve to have it; but then the price of that was so much, I think 't was half-a-crown. "But, sir," says one poor woman, "I am a poor almswoman, and am kept by the parish, and your bills say you give the poor your help for nothing." "Ay, good woman," says the doctor, "so I do, as I published there. I give my advice to the poor for nothing, but not my physic." "Alas, sir!" says she, "that is a snare laid for the poor, then; for you give them your advice for nothing; that is to say, you advise them gratis, to buy your physic for their money; so does every shopkeeper with his wares." Here the woman began to give him ill words, and stood at his door all that day, telling her tale to all the people that came, till the doctor finding she turned away his customers, was obliged to call her upstairs again, and give her his box of physic for nothing, which perhaps, too, was good for nothing when she had it.

But to return to the people, whose confusions fitted them to be imposed upon by all sorts of pre-

tenders and by every mountebank. There is no doubt but these quacking sort of fellows raised great gains out of the miserable people, for we daily found the crowds that ran after them were infinitely greater, and their doors were more thronged than those of Dr. Brooks, Dr. Upton, Dr. Hodges, Dr. Berwick, or any, though the most famous men of the time. And I was told that some of them got five pounds a day by their physic.

But there was still another madness beyond all this, which may serve to give an idea of the distracted humour of the poor people at that time, and this was their following a worse sort of deceivers than any of these; for these petty thieves only deluded them to pick their pockets and get their money, in which their wickedness, whatever it was, lay chiefly on the side of the deceivers deceiving, not upon the deceived. But in this part I am going to mention it lay chiefly in the people deceived, or equally in both, and this was in wearing charms, philtres, exorcisms, amulets, and I know not what preparations, to fortify the body with them against the plague; as if the plague was not the hand of God, but a kind of a possession of an evil spirit, and that it was to be kept off with crossings, signs of the zodiac, papers tied up with so many knots, and certain words or figures written on them, as particularly the word Abracadabra, formed in triangle or pyramid, thus: —

ABRACADABRA
ABRACADABR
ABRACADAB
ABRACADA
ABRACAD
ABRACA
ABRAC
ABRA
ABR
AB
A

Others had the Jesuits' mark in a cross:

I H
S.

Others nothing but this mark, thus:

I might spend a great deal of time in my exclamations against the follies, and indeed the wickedness, of those things, in a time of such danger, in a matter of such consequences as this, of a national infection. But my memorandums of these things relate rather to take notice only of the fact, and mention only that it was so. How the poor people found the insufficiency of those things, and how many of them were afterwards carried away in the dead-carts and thrown into the common graves of every parish with these hellish charms and trumpery hanging about their necks, remains to be spoken of as we go along.

All this was the effect of the hurry the people were in, after the first notion of the plague being at hand was among them, and which may be said to be from about Michaelmas 1664, but more particularly after the two men died in St. Giles's, in the beginning of December; and again, after another alarm in February. For when the plague evidently spread itself, they soon began to see the folly of trusting to those unperforming creatures who had gulled them of their money; and then their fears worked another way, namely, to amazement and stupidity, not knowing what course to take or what to do either to help or relieve themselves. But they ran about from one neighbour's house to another, and even in the streets, from one door to another, with repeated cries of, "Lord, have mercy upon us! What shall we do?"

Indeed, the poor people were to be pitied in one particular thing, in which they had little or no relief, and which I desire to mention with a serious awe and reflection, which perhaps every one that reads this may not relish, namely, that whereas death now began not, as we may say, to hover over every one's head only, but to look into their houses and chambers, and stare in their faces. Though there might be

some stupidity and dulness of the mind, and there was so, a great deal, yet there was a great deal of just alarm sounded into the very inmost soul, if I may so say, of others. Many consciences were awakened; many hard hearts melted into tears; many a penitent confession was made of crimes long concealed. It would wound the soul of any Christian to have heard the dying groans of many a despairing creature, and none durst come near to comfort them. Many a robbery, many a murder, was then confessed aloud, and nobody surviving to record the accounts of it. People might be heard, even into the streets as we passed along, calling upon God for mercy, through Jesus Christ, and saying, "I have been a thief," "I have been an adulterer," "I have been a murderer," and the like, and none durst stop to make the least inquiry into such things or to administer comfort to the poor creatures, that in the anguish both of soul and body thus cried out. Some of the ministers did visit the sick at first and for a little while, but it was not to be done. It would have been present death to have gone into some houses. The very buriers of the dead, who were the hardenedest creatures in town, were sometimes beaten back and so terrified that they durst not go into houses where the whole families were swept away together, and where the circumstances were more particularly horrible, as some were; but this was, indeed, at the first heat of the distemper.

Time inured them to it all, and they ventured everywhere afterwards without hesitation, as I shall have occasion to mention at large hereafter.

I am supposing now the plague to be begun, as I have said, and that the magistrates began to take the condition of the people into their serious consideration. What they did as to the regulation of the inhabitants and of infected families I shall speak

to by itself; but as to the affair of health, it is proper to mention it here, that, having seen the foolish humour of the people in running after quacks and mountebanks, wizards and fortune-tellers, which they did as above, even to madness, the Lord Mayor, a very sober and religious gentleman, appointed physicians and surgeons for relief of the poor—I mean the diseased poor—and in particular ordered the College of Physicians to publish directions for cheap remedies for the poor, in all the circumstances of the distemper. This, indeed, was one of the most charitable and judicious things that could be done at that time, for this drove the people from haunting the doors of every disperser of bills, and from taking down blindly, and without consideration, poison for physic and death instead of life.

This direction of the physicians was done by a consultation of the whole College, and as it was particularly calculated for the use of the poor and for cheap medicines, it was made public, so that everybody might see it, and copies were given gratis to all that desired it. But as it is public, and to be seen on all occasions, I need not give the reader of this the trouble of it.

I shall not be supposed to lessen the authority or capacity of the physicians when I say that the violence of the distemper, when it came to its extremity, was like the fire the next year. The fire, which consumed what the plague could not touch, defied all the application of remedies; the fire-engines were broken, the buckets thrown away, and the power of man was baffled and brought to an end. So the plague defied all medicines; the very physicians were seized with it, with their preservatives in their mouths; and men went about prescribing to others and telling them what to do, till the tokens were upon them, and they dropped down dead, destroyed

by that very enemy they directed others to oppose. This was the case of several physicians, even some of them the most eminent, and of several of the most skilful surgeons. Abundance of quacks too died, who had the folly to trust to their own medicines, which they must needs be conscious to themselves were good for nothing, and who rather ought, like other sorts of thieves, to have run away, sensible of their guilt, from the justice that they could not but expect should punish them as they knew they had deserved.

Not that it is any derogation from the labour or application of the physicians to say they fell in the common calamity; nor is it so intended by me; it rather is to their praise that they ventured their lives so far as even to lose them in the service of mankind. They endeavoured to do good, and to save the lives of others. But we were not to expect that the physicians could stop God's judgments, or prevent a distemper eminently armed from heaven from executing the errand it was sent about.

Doubtless, the physicians assisted many by their skill, and by their prudence and applications, to the saving of their lives and restoring their health. But it is not lessening their character or their skill, to say they could not cure those that had the tokens upon them, or those who were mortally infected before the physicians were sent for, as was frequently the case.

It remains to mention now what public measures were taken by the magistrates for the general safety, and to prevent the spreading of the distemper, when it first broke out. I shall have frequent occasion to speak of the prudence of the magistrates, their charity, their vigilance for the poor, and for preserving good order, furnishing provisions, and the like, when the plague was increased, as it afterwards was. But

I am now upon the order and regulations they published for the government of infected families.

I mentioned above shutting of houses up; and it is needful to say something particularly to that, for this part of the history of the plague is very melancholy, but the most grievous story must be told.

About June the Lord Mayor of London and the Court of Aldermen, as I have said, began more particularly to concern themselves for the regulation of the city.

The Justices of Peace for Middlesex, by direction of the Secretary of State, had begun to shut up houses in the parishes of St Giles-in-the-Fields, St. Martin, St. Clement Danes, &c., and it was with good success; for in several streets where the plague broke out, upon strict guarding the houses that were infected, and taking care to bury those that died immediately after they were known to be dead, the plague ceased in those streets. It was also observed that the plague decreased sooner in those parishes after they had been visited to the full than it did in the parishes of Bishopsgate, Shoreditch, Aldgate, Whitechapel, Stepney, and others, the early care taken in that manner being a great means to the putting a check to it.

This shutting up of houses was a method first taken, as I understand, in the plague which happened in 1603, at the coming of King James the First to the crown; and the power of shutting people up in their own houses was granted by Act of Parliament, entitled, "An Act for the charitable Relief and Ordering of Persons infected with the Plague;" on which Act of Parliament the Lord Mayor and aldermen of the city of London founded the order they made at this time, and which took place the 1st of July 1665, when the numbers infected within the city were but few, the last bill for the ninety-

two parishes being but four; and some houses having been shut up in the city, and some people being removed to the pest-house beyond Bunhill Fields, in the way to Islington, — I say, by these means, when there died near one thousand a week in the whole, the number in the city was but twenty-eight, and the city was preserved more healthy in proportion than any other place all the time of the infection.

These orders of my Lord Mayor's were published, as I have said, the latter end of June, and took place from the 1st of July, and were as follows, viz.: —

ORDERS CONCEIVED AND PUBLISHED BY THE LORD MAYOR AND ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF LONDON CONCERNING THE INFECTION OF THE PLAGUE, 1665.

"WHEREAS in the reign of our late sovereign King James, of happy memory, an Act was made for the charitable relief and ordering of persons infected with the plague, whereby authority was given to justices of the peace, mayors, bailiffs, and other head-officers to appoint within their several limits examiners, searchers, watchmen, keepers, and buriers for the persons and places infected, and to minister unto them oaths for the performance of their offices. And the same statute did also authorise the giving of other directions, as unto them for the present necessity should seem good in their discretions. It is now, upon special consideration, thought very expedient for preventing and avoiding of infection of sickness (if it shall so please Almighty God) that these officers following be appointed, and these orders hereafter duly observed.

Examiners to be appointed in every Parish.

"First, it is thought requisite, and so ordered, that in every parish there be one, two, or more persons of good sort and credit chosen and appointed by the alder-

man, his deputy, and common council of every ward, by the name of examiners, to continue in that office the space of two months at least. And if any fit person so appointed shall refuse to undertake the same, the said parties so refusing to be committed to prison until they shall conform themselves accordingly.

The Examiners' Office.

"That these examiners be sworn by the aldermen to inquire and learn from time to time what houses in every parish be visited, and what persons be sick, and of what diseases, as near as they can inform themselves; and upon doubt in that case, to command restraint of access until it appear what the disease shall prove. And if they find any person sick of the infection, to give order to the constable that the house be shut up; and if the constable shall be found remiss or negligent, to give present notice thereof to the alderman of the ward.

Watchmen.

"That to every infected house there be appointed two watchmen, one for every day, and the other for the night; and that these watchmen have a special care that no person go in or out of such infected houses whereof they have the charge, upon pain of severe punishment. And the said watchmen to do such further offices as the sick house shall need and require; and if the watchman be sent upon any business, to lock up the house and take the key with him; and the watchman by day to attend until ten of the clock at night, and the watchman by night until six in the morning.

Searchers.

"That there be a special care to appoint women searchers in every parish, such as are of honest reputation, and of the best sort as can be got in this kind;

and these to be sworn to make due search and true report to the utmost of their knowledge whether the persons whose bodies they are appointed to search do die of the infection, or of what other diseases, as near as they can. And that the physicians who shall be appointed for cure and prevention of the infection do call before them the said searchers who are, or shall be, appointed for the several parishes under their respective cares, to the end they may consider whether they are fitly qualified for that employment, and charge them from time to time as they shall see cause, if they appear defective in their duties.

"That no searcher during this time of visitation be permitted to use any public work or employment, or keep any shop or stall, or be employed as a laundress, or in any other common employment whatsoever.

Chirurgeons.

"For better assistance of the searchers, forasmuch as there hath been heretofore great abuse in misreporting the disease, to the further spreading of the infection, it is therefore ordered that there be chosen and appointed able and discreet chirurgeons, besides those that do already belong to the pest-house, amongst whom the city and Liberties to be quartered as the places lie most apt and convenient; and every of these to have one quarter for his limit; and the said chirurgeons in every of their limits to join with the searchers for the view of the body, to the end there may be a true report made of the disease.

"And further, that the said chirurgeons shall visit and search such-like persons as shall either send for them or be named and directed unto them by the examiners of every parish, and inform themselves of the disease of the said parties.

"And forasmuch as the said chirurgeons are to be sequestered from all other cures, and kept only to this disease of the infection, it is ordered that every of the

said chirurgeons shall have twelvepence a body searched by them, to be paid out of the goods of the party searched, if he be able, or otherwise by the parish.

Nurse-keepers.

"If any nurse-keeper shall remove herself out of any infected house before twenty-eight days after the decease of any person dying of the infection, the house to which the said nurse-keeper doth so remove herself shall be shut up until the said twenty-eight days be expired."

ORDERS CONCERNING INFECTED HOUSES AND PERSONS SICK OF THE PLAGUE.

Notice to be given of the Sickness.

"The master of every house, as soon as any one in his house complaineth, either of blotch or purple, or swelling in any part of his body, or falleth otherwise dangerously sick, without apparent cause of some other disease, shall give knowledge thereof to the examiner of health within two hours after the said sign shall appear.

Sequestration of the Sick.

"As soon as any man shall be found by this examiner, chirurgeon, or searcher to be sick of the plague, he shall the same night be sequestered in the same house; and in case he be so sequestered, then, though he afterwards die not, the house wherein he sickened should be shut up for a month, after the use of the due preservatives taken by the rest.

Airing the Stuff.

"For sequestration of the goods and stuff of the infection, their bedding and apparel and hangings of

chambers must be well aired with fire and such perfumes as are requisite within the infected house before they be taken again to use. This to be done by the appointment of the examiner.

Shutting up of the House.

"If any person shall have visited any man known to be infected of the plague, or entered willingly into any known infected house, being not allowed, the house wherein he inhabiteth shall be shut up for certain days by the examiner's direction.

None to be removed out of infected Houses, but, &c.

"Item, that none be removed out of the house where he falleth sick of the infection into any other house in the city (except it be to the pest-house or a tent, or unto some such house which the owner of the said visited house holdeth in his own hands and occupieth by his own servants); and so as security be given to the parish whither such remove is made, that the attendance and charge about the said visited persons shall be observed and charged in all the particularities before expressed, without any cost of that parish to which any such remove shall happen to be made, and this remove to be done by night. And it shall be lawful to any person that hath two houses to remove either his sound or his infected people to his spare house at his choice, so as, if he sent away first his sound, he not after send thither the sick, nor again unto the sick the sound; and that the same which he sendeth be for one week at the least shut up and secluded from company, for fear of some infection at the first not appearing.

Burial of the Dead.

"That the burial of the dead by this visitation be at most convenient hours, always either before sun-rising

or after sun-setting, with the privity of the churchwardens or constable, and not otherwise; and that no neighbours nor friends be suffered to accompany the corpse to church, or to enter the house visited, upon pain of having his house shut up or be imprisoned.

"And that no corpse dying of infection shall be buried, or remain in any church in time of common prayer, sermon, or lecture. And that no children be suffered at time of burial of any corpse in any church, churchyard, or burying-place to come near the corpse, coffin, or grave. And that all the graves shall be at least six feet deep.

"And further, all public assemblies at other burials are to be forborne during the continuance of this visitation.

No infected Stuff to be uttered.

"That no clothes, stuff, bedding, or garments be suffered to be carried or conveyed out of any infected houses, and that the criers and carriers abroad of bedding or old apparel to be sold or pawned be utterly prohibited and restrained, and no brokers of bedding or old apparel be permitted to make any outward show, or hang forth on their stalls, shop-boards, or windows, towards any street, lane, common way, or passage, any old bedding or apparel to be sold, upon pain of imprisonment. And if any broker or other person shall buy any bedding, apparel, or other stuff out of any infected house within two months after the infection hath been there, his house shall be shut up as infected, and so shall continue shut up twenty days at the least.

No Person to be conveyed out of any infected House.

"If any person visited do fortune by negligent looking unto, or by any other means, to come or be conveyed from a place infected to any other place, the parish from whence such party hath come or been conveyed, upon notice thereof given, shall at their

charge cause the said party so visited and escaped to be carried and brought back again by night, and the parties in this case offending to be punished at the direction of the alderman of the ward, and the house of the receiver of such visited person to be shut up for twenty days.

Every visited House to be marked.

"That every house visited be marked with a red cross of a foot long in the middle of the door, evident to be seen, and with these usual printed words, that is to say, 'Lord, have mercy upon us,' to be set close over the same cross, there to continue until lawful opening of the same house.

Every visited House to be watched.

"That the constables see every house shut up, and to be attended with watchmen, which may keep them in, and minister necessaries unto them at their own charges, if they be able, or at the common charge, if they be unable; the shutting up to be for the space of four weeks after all be whole.

"That precise order be taken that the searchers, chirurgeons, keepers, and buriers are not to pass the streets without holding a red rod or wand of three feet in length in their hands, open and evident to be seen, and are not to go into any other house than into their own, or into that whereunto they are directed or sent for; but to forbear and abstain from company, especially when they have been lately used in any such business or attendance.

Inmates.

"That where several inmates are in one and the same house, and any person in that house happens to be infected, no other person or family of such house shall be suffered to remove him or themselves without a certificate from the examiners of health of that parish; or

in default thereof, the house whither he or they so remove shall be shut up as in case of visitation.

Hackney-coaches.

"That care be taken of hackney-coachmen, that they may not (as some of them have been observed to do after carrying of infected persons to the pest-house and other places) be admitted to common use till their coaches be well aired, and have stood unemployed by the space of five or six days after such service."

ORDERS FOR CLEANSING AND KEEPING OF THE STREETS SWEET.

The Streets to be kept Clean.

"First, it is thought necessary, and so ordered, that every householder do cause the street to be daily prepared before his door, and so to keep it clean swept all the week long.

That Rakers take it from out the Houses.

"That the sweeping and filth of houses be daily carried away by the rakers, and that the raker shall give notice of his coming by the blowing of a horn, as hitherto hath been done.

Laystalls to be made far off from the City.

"That the laystalls be removed as far as may be out of the city and common passages, and that no night-man or other be suffered to empty a vault into any garden near about the city.

Care to be had of unwholesome Fish or Flesh, and of musty Corn.

"That special care be taken that no stinking fish, or unwholesome flesh, or musty corn, or other corrupt

fruits of what sort soever, be suffered to be sold about the city, or any part of the same.

"That the brewers and tippling-houses be looked unto for musty and unwholesome casks.

"That no hogs, dogs, or cats, or tame pigeons, or conies, be suffered to be kept within any part of the city, or any swine to be or stray in the streets or lanes, but that such swine be impounded by the beadle or any other officer, and the owner punished according to Act of Common Council, and that the dogs be killed by the dog-killers appointed for that purpose."

Orders Concerning Loose Persons and Idle Assemblies.

Beggars.

"Forasmuch as nothing is more complained of than the multitude of rogues and wandering beggars that swarm in every place about the city, being a great cause of the spreading of the infection, and will not be avoided, notwithstanding any orders that have been given to the contrary: It is therefore now ordered, that such constables, and others whom this matter may any way concern, take special care that no wandering beggars be suffered in the streets of this city in any fashion or manner whatsoever, upon the penalty provided by the law, to be duly and severely executed upon them.

Plays.

"That all plays, bear-baitings, games, singing of ballads, buckler-play, or such-like causes of assemblies of people be utterly prohibited, and the parties offending severely punished by every alderman in his ward.

Feasting prohibited.

"That all public feasting, and particularly by the companies of this city, and dinners at taverns, ale-

houses, and other places of common entertainment, be forborne till further order and allowance; and that the money thereby spared be preserved and employed for the benefit and relief of the poor visited with the infection.

Tippling-houses.

"That disorderly tippling in taverns, ale-houses, coffee-houses, and cellars be severely looked unto, as the common sin of this time and greatest occasion of dispersing the plague. And that no company or person be suffered to remain or come into any tavern, ale-house, or coffee-house to drink after nine of the clock in the evening, according to the ancient law and custom of this city, upon the penalties ordained in that behalf.

"And for the better execution of these orders, and such other rules and directions as, upon further consideration, shall be found needful: It is ordered and enjoined that the aldermen, deputies, and common councilmen shall meet together weekly, once, twice, thrice or oftener (as cause shall require), at some one general place accustomed in their respective wards (being clear from infection of the plague), to consult how the said orders may be duly put in execution; not intending that any dwelling in or near places infected shall come to the said meeting while their coming may be doubtful. And the said aldermen, and deputies, and common councilmen in their several wards may put in execution any other good orders that by them at their said meetings shall be conceived and devised for preservation of his Majesty's subjects from the infection.

"Sir JOHN LAWRENCE, *Lord Mayor.*
Sir GEORGE WATERMAN, } *Sheriffs.*"
Sir CHARLES DOE, }

I need not say that these orders extended only to such places as were within the Lord Mayor's jurisdiction, so it is requisite to observe that the Justices

of Peace within those parishes and places as were called the Hamlets and out-parts took the same method. As I remember, the orders for shutting up of houses did not take place so soon on our side, because, as I said before, the plague did not reach to these eastern parts of the town at least, nor begin to be very violent, till the beginning of August. For example, the whole bill from the 11th to the 18th of July was 1761, yet there died but 71 of the plague in all those parishes we call the Tower Hamlets, and they were as follows: —

		The next week was thus:	And to the 1st of Aug. thus:
Aldgate	14	34	65
Stepney	33	58	76
Whitechapel	21	48	79
St. Catherine, Tower	2	4	4
Trinity, Minories	1	1	4
	71	145	228

It was indeed coming on amain, for the burials that same week were in the next adjoining parishes thus: —

		The next week prodigiously increased, as:	To the 1st of Aug. thus:
St. Leonard's, Shoreditch	64	84	110
St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate	65	105	116
St. Giles's, Cripplegate	213	421	554
	342	610	780

This shutting up of houses was at first counted a very cruel and unchristian method, and the poor people so confined made bitter lamentations. Complaints of the severity of it were also daily brought to my Lord Mayor, of houses causelessly (and some maliciously) shut up. I cannot say; but upon inquiry many that complained so loudly were found in a condition to be continued; and others again, inspection being made upon the sick person, and the sickness not appearing infectious, or if uncertain, yet

on his being content to be carried to the pest-house, were released.

It is true that the locking up the doors of people's houses, and setting a watchman there night and day to prevent their stirring out or any coming to them, when perhaps the sound people in the family might have escaped if they had been removed from the sick, looked very hard and cruel; and many people perished in these miserable confinements which, 't is reasonable to believe, would not have been distempered if they had had liberty, though the plague was in the house; at which the people were very clamorous and uneasy at first, and several violences were committed and injuries offered to the men who were set to watch the houses so shut up; also several people broke out by force in many places, as I shall observe by-and-by. But it was a public good that justified the private mischief, and there was no obtaining the least mitigation by any application to magistrates or government at that time, at least not that I heard of. This put the people upon all manner of stratagem in order, if possible, to get out; and it would fill a little volume to set down the arts used by the people of such houses to shut the eyes of the watchmen who were employed, to deceive them, and to escape or break out from them, in which frequent scuffles and some mischief happened; of which by itself.

As I went along Houndsditch one morning about eight o'clock there was a great noise. It is true, indeed, there was not much crowd, because people were not very free to gather together, or to stay long together when they were there; nor did I stay long there. But the outcry was loud enough to prompt my curiosity, and I called to one that looked out of a window, and asked what was the matter.

A watchman, it seems, had been employed to keep

his post at the door of a house which was infected, or said to be infected, and was shut up. He had been there all night for two nights together, as he told his story, and the day-watchman had been there one day, and was now come to relieve him. All this while no noise had been heard in the house, no light had been seen; they called for nothing, sent him of no errands, which used to be the chief business of the watchmen; neither had they given him any disturbance, as he said, from the Monday afternoon, when he heard great crying and screaming in the house, which, as he supposed, was occasioned by some of the family dying just at that time. It seems, the night before, the dead-cart, as it was called, had been stopped there, and a servant-maid had been brought down to the door dead, and the buriers or bearers, as they were called, put her into the cart, wrapt only in a green rug, and carried her away.

The watchman had knocked at the door, it seems, when he heard that noise and crying, as above, and nobody answered a great while; but at last one looked out and said with an angry, quick tone, and yet a kind of crying voice, or a voice of one that was crying, "What d'ye want, that ye make such a knocking?" He answered, "I am the watchman! How do you do? What is the matter?" The person answered, "What is that to you? Stop the dead-cart." This, it seems, was about one o'clock. Soon after, as the fellow said, he stopped the dead-cart, and then knocked again, but nobody answered. He continued knocking, and the bellman called out several times, "Bring out your dead;" but nobody answered, till the man that drove the cart, being called to other houses, would stay no longer, and drove away.

The watchman knew not what to make of all this, so he let them alone till the morning-man or day-

watchman, as they called him, came to relieve him. Giving him an account of the particulars, they knocked at the door a great while, but nobody answered; and they observed that the window or casement at which the person had looked out who had answered before continued open, being up two pair of stairs.

Upon this the two men, to satisfy their curiosity, got a long ladder, and one of them went up to the window and looked into the room, where he saw a woman lying dead upon the floor in a dismal manner, having no clothes on her but her shift. But though he called aloud, and putting in his long staff, knocked hard on the floor, yet nobody stirred or answered; neither could he hear any noise in the house.

He came down again upon this, and acquainted his fellow, who went up also; and finding it just so, they resolved to acquaint either the Lord Mayor or some other magistrate of it, but did not offer to go in at the window. The magistrate, it seems, upon the information of the two men, ordered the house to be broke open, a constable and other persons being appointed to be present, that nothing might be plundered; and accordingly it was so done, when nobody was found in the house but that young woman, who having been infected and past recovery, the rest had left her to die by herself, and were every one gone, having found some way to delude the watchman, and to get open the door, or get out at some back-door, or over the tops of the houses, so that he knew nothing of it; and as to those cries and shrieks which he heard, it was supposed they were the passionate cries of the family at the bitter parting, which, to be sure, it was to them all, this being the sister to the mistress of the family. The man of the house, his wife, several children, and servants, being all gone and fled, whether sick or sound,

that I could never learn; nor, indeed, did I make much inquiry after it.

Many such escapes were made out of infected houses, as particularly when the watchman was sent of some errand; for it was his business to go of any errand that the family sent him of; that is to say, for necessaries, such as food and physic; to fetch physicians, if they would come, or surgeons, or nurses, or to order the dead-cart, and the like; but with this condition, too, that when he went he was to lock up the outer door of the house and take the key away with him. To evade this, and cheat the watchmen, people got two or three keys made to their locks, or they found ways to unscrew the locks such as were screwed on, and so take off the lock, being in the inside of the house, and while they sent away the watchman to the market, to the bake-house, or for one trifle or another, open the door and go out as often as they pleased. But this being found out, the officers afterwards had orders to pad-lock up the doors on the outside, and place bolts on them as they thought fit.

At another house, as I was informed, in the street next within Aldgate, a whole family was shut up and locked in because the maid-servant was taken sick. The master of the house had complained by his friends to the next alderman and to the Lord Mayor, and had consented to have the maid carried to the pest-house, but was refused; so the door was marked with a red cross, a padlock on the outside, as above, and a watchman set to keep the door, according to public order.

After the master of the house found there was no remedy, but that he, his wife, and his children were to be locked up with this poor distempered servant, he called to the watchman, and told him he must go then and fetch a nurse for them to attend this poor

girl, for that it would be certain death to them all to oblige them to nurse her; and told him plainly that if he would not do this, the maid must perish either of the distemper or be starved for want of food, for he was resolved none of his family should go near her; and she lay in the garret four storey high, where she could not cry out, or call to anybody for help.

The watchman consented to that, and went and fetched a nurse, as he was appointed, and brought her to them the same evening. During this interval the master of the house took his opportunity to break a large hole through his shop into a bulk or stall, where formerly a cobbler had sat, before or under his shop-window; but the tenant, as may be supposed at such a dismal time as that, was dead or removed, and so he had the key in his own keeping. Having made his way into this stall, which he could not have done if the man had been at the door, the noise he was obliged to make being such as would have alarmed the watchman; I say, having made his way into this stall, he sat still till the watchman returned with the nurse, and all the next day also. But the night following, having contrived to send the watchman of another trifling errand, which, as I take it, was to an apothecary's for a plaister for the maid, which he was to stay for the making up, or some other such errand that might secure his staying some time; in that time he conveyed himself and all his family out of the house, and left the nurse and the watchman to bury the poor wench — that is, throw her into the cart — and take care of the house.

I could give a great many such stories as these, diverting enough, which in the long course of that dismal year I met with — that is, heard of — and which are very certain to be true, or very near the

truth; that is to say, true in the general, for no man could at such a time learn all the particulars. There was likewise violence used with the watchmen, as was reported, in abundance of places; and I believe that from the beginning of the visitation to the end, there was not less than eighteen or twenty of them killed, or so wounded as to be taken up for dead, which was supposed to be done by the people in the infected houses which were shut up, and where they attempted to come out, and were opposed.

Nor, indeed, could less be expected, for here were so many prisons in the town as there were houses shut up; and as the people shut up or imprisoned so were guilty of no crime, only shut up because miserable, it was really the more intolerable to them.

It had also this difference, that every prison, as we may call it, had but one jailer, and as he had the whole house to guard, and that many houses were so situated as that they had several ways out, some more, some less, and some into several streets, it was impossible for one man so to guard all the passages as to prevent the escape of people made desperate by the fright of their circumstances, by the resentment of their usage, or by the raging of the distemper itself; so that they would talk to the watchman on one side of the house, while the family made their escape at another.

For example, in Coleman Street there are abundance of alleys, as appears still. A house was shut up in that they call White's Alley, and this house had a back-window, not a door, into a court, which had a passage into Bell Alley. A watchman was set by the constable at the door of this house, and there he stood, or his comrade, night and day, while the family went all away in the evening out at that window into the court, and left the poor fellows warding and watching for near a fortnight.

Not far from the same place they blew up a watchman with gunpowder, and burned the poor fellow dreadfully; and while he made hideous cries, and nobody would venture to come near to help him, the whole family that were able to stir got out at the windows one storey high, two that were left sick calling out for help. Care was taken to give them nurses to look after them, but the persons fled were never found, till after the plague was abated they returned; but as nothing could be proved, so nothing could be done to them.

It is to be considered, too, that as these were prisons without bars and bolts, which our common prisons are furnished with, so the people let themselves down out of their windows, even in the face of the watchman, bringing swords or pistols in their hands, and threatening the poor wretch to shoot him if he stirred or called for help.

In other cases, some had gardens, and walls or pales, between them and their neighbours, or yards and back-houses; and these, by friendship and entreaties, would get leave to get over those walls or pales, and so go out at their neighbours' doors; or, by giving money to their servants, get them to let them through in the night; so that, in short, the shutting up of houses was in no wise to be depended upon. Neither did it answer the end at all, serving more to make the people desperate, and drive them to such extremities as that they would break out at all adventures.

And that which was still worse, those that did thus break out spread the infection farther by their wandering about with the distemper upon them, in their desperate circumstances, than they would otherwise have done; for whoever considers all the particulars in such cases must acknowledge, and we cannot doubt but the severity of those confinements

made many people desperate, and made them run out of their houses at all hazards, and with the plague visibly upon them, not knowing either whither to go or what to do, or, indeed, what they did ; and many that did so were driven to dreadful exigencies and extremities, and perished in the streets or fields for mere want, or dropped down by the raging violence of the fever upon them. Others wandered into the country, and went forward any way, as their desperation guided them, not knowing whither they went or would go, till faint and tired, and not getting any relief, the houses and villages on the road refusing to admit them to lodge, whether infected or no, they have perished by the roadside, or gotten into barns and died there, none daring to come to them or relieve them, though perhaps not infected, for nobody would believe them.

On the other hand, when the plague at first seized a family, that is to say, when any one body of the family had gone out and unwarily or otherwise catched the distemper and brought it home, it was certainly known by the family before it was known to the officers, who, as you will see by the order, were appointed to examine into the circumstances of all sick persons when they heard of their being sick.

In this interval between their being taken sick and the examiners coming, the master of the house had leisure and liberty to remove himself or all his family, if he knew whither to go, and many did so. But the great disaster was, that many did thus after they were really infected themselves, and so carried the disease into the houses of those who were so hospitable as to receive them, which, it must be confessed, was very cruel and ungrateful.

And this was, in part, the reason of the general notion, or scandal rather, which went about of the temper of people infected, namely, that they did not

take the least care or make any scruple of infecting others, though I cannot say but there might be some truth in it too, but not so general as was reported. What natural reason could be given for so wicked a thing at a time when they might conclude themselves just going to appear at the bar of Divine Justice I know not. I am very well satisfied that it cannot be reconciled to religion and principle any more than it can be to generosity and humanity, but I may speak of that again.

I am speaking now of people made desperate by the apprehensions of their being shut up, and their breaking out by stratagem or force, either before or after they were shut up, whose misery was not lessened when they were out, but sadly increased. On the other hand, many that thus got away had retreats to go to and other houses, where they locked themselves up and kept hid till the plague was over; and many families, foreseeing the approach of the distemper, laid up stores of provisions sufficient for their whole families, and shut themselves up, and that so entirely that they were neither seen or heard of till the infection was quite ceased, and then came abroad sound and well. I might recollect several such as these, and give you the particulars of their management; for, doubtless, it was the most effectual secure step that could be taken for such whose circumstances would not admit them to remove, or who had not retreats abroad proper for the case; for, in being thus shut up, they were as if they had been a hundred miles off. Nor do I remember that any one of those families miscarried. Among these several Dutch merchants were particularly remarkable, who kept their houses like little garrisons besieged, suffering none to go in or out or come near them, particularly one in a court in Throgmorton Street, whose house looked into Draper's Garden.

But I come back to the case of families infected, and shut up by the magistrates. The misery of those families is not to be expressed; and it was generally in such houses that we heard the most dismal shrieks and outcries of the poor people, terrified and even frighted to death by the sight of the condition of their dearest relations, and by the terror of being imprisoned as they were.

I remember, and while I am writing this story I think I hear the very sound of it, a certain lady had an only daughter, a young maiden about nineteen years old, and who was possessed of a very considerable fortune. They were only lodgers in the house where they were. The young woman, her mother, and the maid had been abroad on some occasion, I do not remember what, for the house was not shut up; but about two hours after they came home the young lady complained she was not well; in a quarter of an hour more she vomited and had a violent pain in her head. "Pray God," says her mother, in a terrible fright, "my child has not the distemper!" The pain in her head increasing, her mother ordered the bed to be warmed, and resolved to put her to bed, and prepared to give her things to sweat, which was the ordinary remedy to be taken when the first apprehensions of the distemper began.

While the bed was airing the mother undressed the young woman, and just as she was laid down in the bed, she, looking upon her body with a candle, immediately discovered the fatal tokens on the inside of her thighs. Her mother, not being able to contain herself, threw down her candle and screeched out in such a frightful manner that it was enough to place horror upon the stoutest heart in the world; nor was it one scream or one cry, but the fright having seized her spirits, she fainted first, then recovered, then ran all over the house, up the stairs

and down the stairs, like one distracted, and indeed really was distracted, and continued screeching and crying out for several hours void of all sense, or, at least, government of her senses, and, as I was told, never came thoroughly to herself again. As to the young maiden, she was a dead corpse from that moment, for the gangrene which occasions the spots had spread [over] her whole body, and she died in less than two hours. But still the mother continued crying out, not knowing anything more of her child, several hours after she was dead. It is so long ago that I am not certain, but I think the mother never recovered, but died in two or three weeks after.

This was an extraordinary case, and I am therefore the more particular in it, because I came so much to the knowledge of it; but there were innumerable such-like cases, and it was seldom that the weekly bill came in but there were two or three put in frighted; that is, that may well be called frighted to death. But besides those who were so frighted as to die upon the spot, there were great numbers frighted to other extremes, some frighted out of their senses, some out of their memory, and some out of their understanding. But I return to the shutting up of houses.

As several people, I say, got out of their houses by stratagem after they were shut up, so others got out by bribing the watchmen, and giving them money to let them go privately out in the night. I must confess I thought it at that time the most innocent corruption or bribery that any man could be guilty of, and therefore could not but pity the poor men, and think it was hard when three of those watchmen were publicly whipped through the streets for suffering people to go out of houses shut up.

But notwithstanding that severity, money prevailed with the poor men, and many families found

means to make sallies out, and escape that way after they had been shut up; but these were generally such as had some places to retire to; and though there was no easy passing the roads any whither after the 1st of August, yet there were many ways of retreat, and particularly, as I hinted, some got tents and set them up in the fields, carrying beds or straw to lie on, and provisions to eat, and so lived in them as hermits in a cell, for nobody would venture to come near them; and several stories were told of such, some comical, some tragical, some who lived like wandering pilgrims in the deserts, and escaped by making themselves exiles in such a manner as is scarce to be credited, and who yet enjoyed more liberty than was to be expected in such cases.

I have by me a story of two brothers and their kinsman, who being single men, but that had stayed in the city too long to get away, and indeed not knowing where to go to have any retreat, nor having wherewith to travel far, took a course for their own preservation, which though in itself at first desperate, yet was so natural that it may be wondered that no more did so at that time. They were but of mean condition, and yet not so very poor as that they could not furnish themselves with some little conveniences such as might serve to keep life and soul together; and finding the distemper increasing in a terrible manner, they resolved to shift as well as they could, and to be gone.

One of them had been a soldier in the late wars, and before that in the Low Countries, and having been bred to no particular employment but his arms, and besides being wounded, and not able to work very hard, had for some time been employed at a baker's of sea-biscuit in Wapping.

The brother of this man was a seaman too, but somehow or other had been hurt of one leg, that he

could not go to sea, but had worked for his living at a sailmaker's in Wapping, or thereabouts; and being a good husband, had laid up some money, and was the richest of the three.

The third man was a joiner or carpenter by trade, a handy fellow, and he had no wealth but his box or basket of tools, with the help of which he could at any time get his living, such a time as this excepted, wherever he went, and he lived near Shadwell.

They all lived in Stepney parish, which, as I have said, being the last that was infected, or at least violently, they stayed there till they evidently saw the plague was abating at the west part of the town, and coming towards the east, where they lived.

The story of those three men, if the reader will be content to have me give it in their own persons, without taking upon me to either vouch the particulars or answer for any mistakes, I shall give as distinctly as I can, believing the history will be a very good pattern for any poor man to follow, in case the like public desolation should happen here; and if there may be no such occasion, which God of His infinite mercy grant us, still the story may have its uses so many ways as that it will, I hope, never be said that the relating has been unprofitable.

I say all this previous to the history, having yet, for the present, much more to say before I quit my own part.

I went all the first part of the time freely about the streets, though not so freely as to run myself into apparent danger, except when they dug the great pit in the churchyard of our parish of Aldgate. A terrible pit it was, and I could not resist my curiosity to go and see it. As near as I may judge, it was about forty feet in length, and about fifteen or sixteen feet broad, and, at the time I first looked at it, about nine feet deep; but it was said they dug it

near twenty feet deep afterwards in one part of it, till they could go no deeper for the water; for they had, it seems, dug several large pits before this. For though the plague was long a-coming to our parish, yet, when it did come, there was no parish in or about London where it raged with such violence as in the two parishes of Aldgate and Whitechapel.

I say they had dug several pits in another ground, when the distemper began to spread in our parish, and especially when the dead-carts began to go about, which was not, in our parish, till the beginning of August. Into these pits they had put perhaps fifty or sixty bodies each; then they made larger holes, wherein they buried all that the cart brought in a week, which, by the middle to the end of August, came to from 200 to 400 a week; and they could not well dig them larger, because of the order of the magistrates confining them to leave no bodies within six feet of the surface; and the water coming on at about seventeen or eighteen feet, they could not well, I say, put more in one pit. But now, at the beginning of September, the plague raging in a dreadful manner, and the number of burials in our parish increasing to more than was ever buried in any parish about London of no larger extent, they ordered this dreadful gulf to be dug, for such it was rather than a pit.

They had supposed this pit would have supplied them for a month or more when they dug it, and some blamed the churchwardens for suffering such a frightful thing, telling them they were making preparations to bury the whole parish, and the like; but time made it appear the churchwardens knew the condition of the parish better than they did, for the pit being finished the 4th of September, I think, they began to bury in it the 6th, and by the 20th, which was just two weeks, they had thrown into it

1114 bodies, when they were obliged to fill it up, the bodies being then come to lie within six feet of the surface. I doubt not but there may be some ancient persons alive in the parish who can justify the fact of this, and are able to show even in what place of the churchyard the pit lay better than I can. The mark of it also was many years to be seen in the churchyard on the surface, lying in length parallel with the passage which goes by the west wall of the churchyard out of Houndsditch, and turns east again into Whitechapel, coming out near the 'Three Nuns' Inn.

It was about the 10th of September that my curiosity led, or rather drove, me to go and see this pit again, when there had been near 400 people buried in it; and I was not content to see it in the day-time, as I had done before, for then there would have been nothing to have been seen but the loose earth; for all the bodies that were thrown in were immediately covered with earth by those they called the buriers, which at other times were called bearers; but I resolved to go in the night and see some of them thrown in.

There was a strict order to prevent people coming to those pits, and that was only to prevent infection. But after some time that order was more necessary, for people that were infected and near their end, and delirious also, would run to those pits, wrapt in blankets or rugs, and throw themselves in, and, as they said, bury themselves. I cannot say that the officers suffered any willingly to lie there; but I have heard that in a great pit in Finsbury, in the parish of Cripplegate, it lying open then to the fields, for it was not then walled about, [some] came and threw themselves in, and expired there, before they threw any earth upon them; and that when they came to bury others, and found them there, they were quite dead, though not cold.

This may serve a little to describe the dreadful condition of that day, though it is impossible to say anything that is able to give a true idea of it to those who did not see it, other than this, that it was indeed very, very, very dreadful, and such as no tongue can express.

I got admittance into the churchyard by being acquainted with the sexton who attended, who, though he did not refuse me at all, yet earnestly persuaded me not to go, telling me very seriously, for he was a good, religious, and sensible man, that it was indeed their business and duty to venture, and to run all hazards, and that in it they might hope to be preserved; but that I had no apparent call to it but my own curiosity, which, he said, he believed I would not pretend was sufficient to justify my running that hazard. I told him I had been pressed in my mind to go, and that perhaps it might be an instructing sight, that might not be without its uses. "Nay," says the good man, "if you will venture upon that score, name of God go in; for, depend upon it, 't will be a sermon to you, it may be, the best that ever you heard in your life. 'T is a speaking sight," says he, "and has a voice with it, and a loud one, to call us all to repentance;" and with that he opened the door and said, "Go, if you will."

His discourse had shocked my resolution a little, and I stood wavering for a good while, but just at that interval I saw two links come over from the end of the Minories, and heard the bellman, and then appeared a dead-cart, as they called it, coming over the streets; so I could no longer resist my desire of seeing it, and went in. There was nobody, as I could perceive at first, in the churchyard, or going into it, but the buriers and the fellow that drove the cart, or rather led the horse and cart; but when they came up to the pit they saw a man go to and

again, muffled up in a brown cloak, and making motions with his hands under his cloak, as if he was in a great agony, and the buriers immediately gathered about him, supposing he was one of those poor delirious or desperate creatures that used to pretend, as I have said, to bury themselves. He said nothing as he walked about, but two or three times groaned very deeply and loud, and sighed as he would break his heart.

When the buriers came up to him they soon found he was neither a person infected and desperate, as I have observed above, or a person distempered in mind, but one oppressed with a dreadful weight of grief indeed, having his wife and several of his children all in the cart that was just come in with him, and he followed in an agony and excess of sorrow. He mourned heartily, as it was easy to see, but with a kind of masculine grief that could not give itself vent by tears ; and calmly defying the buriers to let him alone, said he would only see the bodies thrown in and go away, so they left importuning him. But no sooner was the cart turned round and the bodies shot into the pit promiscuously, which was a surprise to him, for he at least expected they would have been decently laid in, though indeed he was afterwards convinced that was impracticable ; I say, no sooner did he see the sight but he cried out aloud, unable to contain himself. I could not hear what he said, but he went backward two or three steps and fell down in a swoon. The buriers ran to him and took him up, and in a little while he came to himself, and they led him away to the Pie Tavern over against the end of Houndsditch, where, it seems, the man was known, and where they took care of him. He looked into the pit again as he went away, but the buriers had covered the bodies so immediately with throwing in earth, that though there was light

enough, for there were lanterns, and candles in them, placed all night round the sides of the pit, upon heaps of earth, seven or eight, or perhaps more, yet nothing could be seen.

This was a mournful scene indeed, and affected me almost as much as the rest; but the other was awful and full of terror. The cart had in it sixteen or seventeen bodies; some were wrapt up in linen sheets, some in rags, some little other than naked, or so loose that what covering they had fell from them in the shooting out of the cart, and they fell quite naked among the rest; but the matter was not much to them, or the indecency much to any one else, seeing they were all dead, and were to be huddled together into the common grave of mankind, as we may call it, for here was no difference made, but poor and rich went together; there was no other way of burials, neither was it possible there should, for coffins were not to be had for the prodigious numbers that fell in such a calamity as this.

It was reported by way of scandal upon the buriers, that if any corpse was delivered to them decently wound up, as we called it then, in a winding-sheet tied over the head and feet, which some did, and which was generally of good linen; I say, it was reported that the buriers were so wicked as to strip them in the cart and carry them quite naked to the ground. But as I cannot easily credit anything so vile among Christians, and at a time so filled with terrors as that was, I can only relate it and leave it undetermined.

Innumerable stories also went about of the cruel behaviours and practices of nurses who tended the sick, and of their hastening on the fate of those they tended in their sickness. But I shall say more of this in its place.

I was indeed shocked with this sight; it almost

overwhelmed me, and I went away with my heart most afflicted, and full of the afflicting thoughts, such as I cannot describe. Just at my going out of the church, and turning up the street towards my own house, I saw another cart with links, and a bellman going before, coming out of Harrow Alley in the Butcher Row, on the other side of the way, and being, as I perceived, very full of dead bodies, it went directly over the street also toward the church. I stood a while, but I had no stomach to go back again to see the same dismal scene over again, so I went directly home, where I could not but consider with thankfulness the risk I had run, believing I had gotten no injury, as indeed I had not.

Here the poor unhappy gentleman's grief came into my head again, and indeed I could not but shed tears in the reflection upon it, perhaps more than he did himself; but his case lay so heavy upon my mind that I could not prevail with myself, but that I must go out again into the street, and go to the Pie Tavern, resolving to inquire what became of him.

It was by this time one o'clock in the morning, and yet the poor gentleman was there. The truth was, the people of the house, knowing him, had entertained him, and kept him there all the night, notwithstanding the danger of being infected by him, though it appeared the man was perfectly sound himself.

It is with regret that I take notice of this tavern. The people were civil, mannerly, and an obliging sort of folks enough, and had till this time kept their house open and their trade going on, though not so very publicly as formerly; but there was a dreadful set of fellows that used their house, and who, in the middle of all this horror, met there every night, behaved with all the revelling and roaring

extravagances as is usual for such people to do at other times, and, indeed, to such an offensive degree that the very master and mistress of the house grew first ashamed and then terrified at them.

They sat generally in a room next the street, and as they always kept late hours, so when the dead-cart came across the street-end to go into Hounds-ditch, which was in view of the tavern windows, they would frequently open the windows as soon as they heard the bell and look out at them; and as they might often hear sad lamentations of people in the streets or at their windows as the carts went along, they would make their impudent mocks and jeers at them, especially if they heard the poor people call upon God to have mercy upon them, as many would do at those times in their ordinary passing along the streets.

These gentlemen, being something disturbed with the clutter of bringing the poor gentleman into the house, as above, were first angry and very high with the master of the house for suffering such a fellow, as they called him, to be brought out of the grave into their house; but being answered that the man was a neighbour, and that he was sound, but overwhelmed with the calamity of his family, and the like, they turned their anger into ridiculing the man and his sorrow for his wife and children, taunted him with want of courage to leap into the great pit and go to heaven, as they jeeringly expressed it, along with them, adding some very profane and even blasphemous expressions.

They were at this vile work when I came back to the house, and, as far as I could see, though the man sat still, mute and disconsolate, and their affronts could not divert his sorrow, yet he was both grieved and offended at their discourse. Upon this I gently reproved them, being well enough acquainted

with their characters, and not unknown in person to two of them.

They immediately fell upon me with ill language and oaths, asked me what I did out of my grave at such a time when so many honester men were carried into the churchyard, and why I was not at home saying my prayers against the dead-cart came for me, and the like.

I was indeed astonished at the impudence of the men, though not at all discomposed at their treatment of me. However, I kept my temper. I told them that though I defied them or any man in the world to tax me with any dishonesty, yet I acknowledged that in this terrible judgment of God many better than I were swept away and carried to their grave. But to answer their question directly, the case was, that I was mercifully preserved by that great God whose name they had blasphemed and taken in vain by cursing and swearing in a dreadful manner, and that I believed I was preserved in particular, among other ends of His goodness, that I might reprove them for their audacious boldness in behaving in such a manner and in such an awful time as this was, especially for their jeering and mocking at an honest gentleman and a neighbour (for some of them knew him), who, they saw, was overwhelmed with sorrow for the breaches which it had pleased God to make upon his family.

I cannot call exactly to mind the hellish, abominable raillery which was the return they made to that talk of mine, being provoked, it seems, that I was not at all afraid to be free with them ; nor, if I could remember, would I fill my account with any of the words, the horrid oaths, curses, and vile expressions, such as, at that time of the day, even the worst and ordinariest people in the street would not use ; for, except such hardened creatures as these, the most

wicked wretches that could be found had at that time some terror upon their minds of the hand of that Power which could thus in a moment destroy them.

But that which was the worst in all their devilish language was, that they were not afraid to blaspheme God and talk atheistically, making a jest of my calling the plague the hand of God; mocking, and even laughing, at the word judgment, as if the providence of God had no concern in the inflicting such a desolating stroke, and that the people calling upon God as they saw the carts carrying away the dead bodies was all enthusiastic, absurd, and impertinent.

I made them some reply, such as I thought proper, but which I found was so far from putting a check to their horrid way of speaking that it made them rail the more, so that I confess it filled me with horror and a kind of rage, and I came away, as I told them, lest the hand of that Judgment which had visited the whole city should glorify His vengeance upon them, and all that were near them.

They received all reproof with the utmost contempt, and made the greatest mockery that was possible for them to do at me, giving me all the opprobrious, insolent scoffs that they could think of for preaching to them, as they called it, which indeed grieved me, rather than angered me; and I went away, blessing God, however, in my mind that I had not spared them, though they had insulted me so much.

They continued this wretched course three or four days after this, continually mocking and jeering at all that showed themselves religious or serious, or that were any way touched with the sense of the terrible judgment of God upon us; and I was informed they flouted in the same manner at the good people who, notwithstanding the contagion, met at the church, fasted, and prayed to God to remove His hand from them.

I say, they continued this dreadful course three or four days — I think it was no more — when one of them, particularly he who asked the poor gentleman what he did out of his grave, was struck from Heaven with the plague, and died in the most deplorable manner; and, in a word, they were every one of them carried into the great pit which I have mentioned above, before it was quite filled up, which was not above a fortnight or thereabout.

These men were guilty of many extravagances, such as one would think human nature should have trembled at the thoughts of at such a time of general terror as was then upon us, and particularly scoffing and mocking at everything which they happened to see that was religious among the people, especially at their thronging zealously to the place of public worship to implore mercy from Heaven in such a time of distress; and this tavern where they held their club being within view of the church-door, they had the more particular occasion for their atheistical profane mirth.

But this began to abate a little with them before the accident which I have related happened, for the infection increased so violently at this part of the town now, that people began to be afraid to come to the church; at least such numbers did not resort thither as was usual. Many of the clergymen likewise were dead, and others gone into the country; for it really required a steady courage and a strong faith for a man not only to venture being in town at such a time as this, but likewise to venture to come to church and perform the office of a minister to a congregation, of whom he had reason to believe many of them were actually infected with the plague, and to do this every day, or twice a day, as in some places was done.

It is true the people showed an extraordinary zeal

in these religious exercises, and as the church-doors were always open, people would go in single at all times, whether the minister was officiating or no, and locking themselves into separate pews, would be praying to God with great fervency and devotion.

Others assembled at meeting-houses, every one as their different opinions in such things guided, but all were promiscuously the subject of these men's drollery, especially at the beginning of the visitation.

It seems they had been checked for their open insulting religion in this manner by several good people of every persuasion, and that, and the violent raging of the infection, I suppose, was the occasion that they had abated much of their rudeness for some time before, and were only roused by the spirit of ribaldry and atheism at the clamour which was made when the gentleman was first brought in there, and perhaps were agitated by the same devil, when I took upon me to reprove them; though I did it at first with all the calmness, temper, and good manners that I could, which for a while they insulted me the more for, thinking it had been in fear of their resentment, though afterwards they found the contrary.

I went home, indeed, grieved and afflicted in my mind at the abominable wickedness of those men, not doubting, however, that they would be made dreadful examples of God's justice; for I looked upon this dismal time to be a particular season of Divine vengeance, and that God would on this occasion single out the proper objects of His displeasure in a more especial and remarkable manner than at another time; and that though I did believe that many good people would, and did, fall in the common calamity, and that it was no certain rule to judge of the eternal state of any one by their being distinguished in such a time of general destruction neither one way or other, yet, I say, it could not but seem reasonable

to believe that God would not think fit to spare by His mercy such open declared enemies, that should insult His name and Being, defy His vengeance, and mock at His worship and worshippers at such a time; no, not though His mercy had thought fit to bear with and spare them at other times; that this was a day of visitation, a day of God's anger, and those words came into my thought, Jer. v. 9: "Shall I not visit for these things? saith the Lord: and shall not My soul be avenged of such a nation as this!"

These things, I say, lay upon my mind, and I went home very much grieved and oppressed with the horror of these men's wickedness, and to think that anything could be so vile, so hardened, and so notoriously wicked as to insult God, and His servants, and His worship in such a manner, and at such a time as this was, when He had, as it were, His sword drawn in His hand on purpose to take vengeance, not on them only, but on the whole nation.

I had, indeed, been in some passion at first with them, though it was really raised, not by any affront they had offered me personally, but by the horror their blaspheming tongues filled me with. However, I was doubtful in my thoughts whether the resentment I retained was not all upon my own private account, for they had given me a great deal of ill language too — I mean personally; but after some pause, and having a weight of grief upon my mind, I retired myself as soon as I came home, for I slept not that night; and giving God most humble thanks for my preservation in the eminent danger I had been in, I set my mind seriously and with the utmost earnestness to pray for those desperate wretches, that God would pardon them, open their eyes, and effectually humble them.

By this I not only did my duty, namely, to pray for those who despitefully used me, but I fully tried

my own heart, to my full satisfaction, that it was not filled with any spirit of resentment as they had offended me in particular; and I humbly recommend the method to all those that would know, or be certain, how to distinguish between their real zeal for the honour of God and the effects of their private passions and resentment.

But I must go back here to the particular incidents which occur to my thoughts of the time of the visitation, and particularly to the time of their shutting up houses, in the first part of their sickness; for before the sickness was come to its height people had more room to make their observations than they had afterward; but when it was in the extremity there was no such thing as communication with one another, as before.

During the shutting up of houses, as I have said, some violence was offered to the watchmen. As to soldiers, there were none to be found; the few guards which the king then had, which were nothing like the number entertained since, were dispersed, either at Oxford with the Court, or in quarters in the remoter parts of the country, small detachments excepted, who did duty at the Tower and at Whitehall, and these but very few. Neither am I positive that there was any other guard at the Tower than the warders, as they called them, who stand at the gate with gowns and caps, the same as the yeomen of the guard, except the ordinary gunners, who were twenty-four, and the officers appointed to look after the magazine, who were called armourers. As to trained bands, there was no possibility of raising any; neither, if the Lieutenancy, either of London or Middlesex, had ordered the drums to beat for the militia, would any of the companies, I believe, have drawn together, whatever risk they had run.

This made the watchmen be the less regarded, and

perhaps occasioned the greater violence to be used against them. I mention it on this score to observe that the setting watchmen thus to keep the people in was, first of all, not effectual, but that the people broke out, whether by force or by stratagem, even almost as often as they pleased; and, second, that those that did thus break out were generally people infected, who, in their desperation, running about from one place to another, valued not whom they injured, and which perhaps, as I have said, might give birth to report that it was natural to the infected people to desire to infect others, which report was really false.

And I know it so well, and in so many several cases, that I could give several relations of good, pious, and religious people who, when they have had the distemper, have been so far from being forward to infect others that they have forbid their own family to come near them, in hopes of their being preserved, and have even died without seeing their nearest relations, lest they should be instrumental to give them the distemper, and infect or endanger them. If, then, there were cases wherein the infected people were careless of the injury they did to others, this was certainly one of them, if not the chief, namely, when people who had the distemper had broken out from houses which were so shut up, and having been driven to extremities for provision or for entertainment, had endeavoured to conceal their condition, and have been thereby instrumental involuntarily to infect others who have been ignorant and unwary.

This is one of the reasons why I believed then, and do believe still, that the shutting up houses thus by force, and restraining, or rather imprisoning, people in their own houses, as I said above, was of little or no service in the whole. Nay, I am of opinion it was

rather hurtful, having forced those desperate people to wander abroad with the plague upon them, who would otherwise have died quietly in their beds.

I remember one citizen who, having thus broken out of his house in Aldersgate Street or thereabout, went along the road to Islington; he attempted to have gone in at the Angel Inn, and after that at the White Horse, two inns known still by the same signs, but was refused; after which he came to the Pied Bull, an inn also still continuing the same sign. He asked them for lodging for one night only, pretending to be going into Lincolnshire, and assuring them of his being very sound and free from the infection, which also at that time had not reached much that way.

They told him they had no lodging that they could spare but one bed up in the garret, and that they could spare that bed but for one night, some drovers being expected the next day with cattle; so, if he would accept of that lodging, he might have it, which he did. So a servant was sent up with a candle with him to show him the room. He was very well dressed, and looked like a person not used to lie in a garret; and when he came to the room he fetched a deep sigh, and said to the servant, "I have seldom lain in such a lodging as this." However, the servant assuring him again that they had no better, "Well," says he, "I must make shift; this is a dreadful time; but it is but for one night." So he sat down upon the bedside, and bade the maid, I think it was, fetch him up a pint of warm ale. Accordingly the servant went for the ale, but some hurry in the house, which perhaps employed her other ways, put it out of her head, and she went up no more to him.

The next morning, seeing no appearance of the gentleman, somebody in the house asked the servant that had showed him upstairs what was become of

him. She started. "Alas!" says she, "I never thought more of him. He bade me carry him some warm ale, but I forgot." Upon which, not the maid, but some other person was sent up to see after him, who, coming into the room, found him stark dead and almost cold, stretched out across the bed. His clothes were pulled off, his jaw fallen, his eyes open in a most frightful posture, the rug of the bed being grasped hard in one of his hands, so that it was plain he died soon after the maid left him; and 't is probable, had she gone up with the ale, she had found him dead in a few minutes after he sat down upon the bed. The alarm was great in the house, as any one may suppose, they having been free from the distemper till that disaster, which, bringing the infection to the house, spread it immediately to other houses round about it. I do not remember how many died in the house itself, but I think the maid-servant who went up first with him fell presently ill by the fright, and several others; for, whereas there died but two in Islington of the plague the week before, there died seventeen the week after, whereof fourteen were of the plague. This was in the week from the 11th of July to the 18th.

There was one shift that some families had, and that not a few, when their houses happened to be infected, and that was this: the families who, in the first breaking out of the distemper, fled away into the country and had retreats among their friends, generally found some or other of their neighbours or relations to commit the charge of those houses to for the safety of the goods and the like. Some houses were, indeed, entirely locked up, the doors padlocked, the windows and doors having deal boards nailed over them, and only the inspection of them committed to the ordinary watchmen and parish officers; but these were but few.

It was thought that there were not less than 10,000 houses forsaken of the inhabitants in the city and suburbs, including what was in the out-parishes and in Surrey, or the side of the water they called Southwark. This was besides the numbers of lodgers, and of particular persons who were fled out of other families; so that in all it was computed that about 200,000 people were fled and gone. But of this I shall speak again. But I mention it here on this account, namely, that it was a rule with those who had thus two houses in their keeping or care, that if anybody was taken sick in a family, before the master of the family let the examiners or any other officer know of it, he immediately would send all the rest of his family, whether children or servants, as it fell out to be, to such other house which he had so in charge, and then giving notice of the sick person to the examiner, have a nurse or nurses appointed, and have another person to be shut up in the house with them (which many for money would do), so to take charge of the house in case the person should die.

This was, in many cases, the saving a whole family, who, if they had been shut up with the sick person, would inevitably have perished. But, on the other hand, this was another of the inconveniences of shutting up houses; for the apprehensions and terror of being shut up made many run away with the rest of the family, who, though it was not publicly known, and they were not quite sick, had yet the distemper upon them; and who, by having an uninterrupted liberty to go about, but being obliged still to conceal their circumstances, or perhaps not knowing it themselves, gave the distemper to others, and spread the infection in a dreadful manner, as I shall explain further hereafter.

And here I may be able to make an observation

or two of my own, which may be of use hereafter to those into whose hands these may come, if they should ever see the like dreadful visitation. (1.) The infection generally came into the houses of the citizens by the means of their servants, whom they were obliged to send up and down the streets for necessaries; that is to say, for food or physic, to bake-houses, brew-houses, shops, &c.; and who going necessarily through the streets into shops, markets, and the like, it was impossible but that they should, one way or other, meet with distempered people, who conveyed the fatal breath into them, and they brought it home to the families to which they belonged. (2.) It was a great mistake that such a great city as this had but one pest-house; for had there been, instead of one pest-house — viz., beyond Bunhill Fields, where, at most, they could receive, perhaps, two hundred or three hundred people — I say, had there, instead of that one, been several pest-houses, every one able to contain a thousand people, without lying two in a bed, or two beds in a room; and had every master of a family, as soon as any servant especially had been taken sick in his house, been obliged to send them to the next pest-house, if they were willing, as many were, and had the examiners done the like among the poor people when any had been stricken with the infection: I say, had this been done where the people were willing (not otherwise), and the houses not been shut, I am persuaded, and was all the while of that opinion, that not so many, by several thousands, had died; for it was observed, and I could give several instances within the compass of my own knowledge, where a servant had been taken sick, and the family had either time to send him out or retire from the house and leave the sick person, as I have said above, they had all been preserved; whereas when, upon one or

more sickening in a family, the house has been shut up, the whole family have perished, and the bearers been obliged to go in to fetch out the dead bodies, not being able to bring them to the door, and at last none left to do it.

(3.) This put it out of question to me, that the calamity was spread by infection; that is to say, by some certain steams or fumes, which the physicians call effluvia, by the breath, or by the sweat, or by the stench of the sores of the sick persons, or some other way, perhaps, beyond even the reach of the physicians themselves, which effluvia affected the sound who came within certain distances of the sick, immediately penetrating the vital parts of the said sound persons, putting their blood into an immediate ferment, and agitating their spirits to that degree which it was found they were agitated; and so those newly infected persons communicated it in the same manner to others. And this I shall give some instances of, that cannot but convince those who seriously consider it; and I cannot but with some wonder find some people, now the contagion is over, talk of its being an immediate stroke from Heaven, without the agency of means, having commission to strike this and that particular person, and none other, which I look upon with contempt as the effect of manifest ignorance and enthusiasm; likewise the opinion of others, who talk of infection being carried on by the air only, by carrying with it vast numbers of insects and invisible creatures, who enter into the body with the breath, or even at the pores with the air, and there generate or emit most acute poisons, or poisonous ovæ or eggs, which mingle themselves with the blood, and so infect the body: a discourse full of learned simplicity, and manifested to be so by universal experience; but I shall say more to this case in its order.

I must here take further notice that nothing was more fatal to the inhabitants of this city than their supine negligence of the people themselves, who, during the long notice or warning they had of the visitation, made no provision for it, by laying in store of provisions, or of other necessaries, by which they might have lived retired, and within their own houses, as I have observed others did, and who were in a great measure preserved by that caution; nor were they, after they were a little hardened to it, so shy of conversing with one another, when actually infected, as they were at first, no, though they knew it.

I acknowledge I was one of those thoughtless ones that had made so little provision that my servants were obliged to go out of doors to buy every trifle by penny and halfpenny, just as before it began, even till my experience showing me the folly, I began to be wiser so late that I had scarce time to store myself sufficient for our common subsistence for a month.

I had in family only an ancient woman that managed the house, a maid-servant, two apprentices, and myself; and the plague beginning to increase about us, I had many sad thoughts about what course I should take, and how I should act. The many dismal objects, which happened everywhere as I went about the streets, had filled my mind with a great deal of horror, for fear of the distemper, which was, indeed, very horrible in itself, and in some more than in others. The swellings, which were generally in the neck or groin, when they grew hard and would not break, grew so painful that it was equal to the most exquisite torture; and some, not able to bear the torment, threw themselves out at windows or shot themselves, or otherwise made themselves away, and I saw several dismal objects

of that kind. Others, unable to contain themselves, vented their pain by incessant roarings, and such loud and lamentable cries were to be heard as we walked along the streets that would pierce the very heart to think of, especially when it was to be considered that the same dreadful scourge might be expected every moment to seize upon ourselves.

I cannot say but that now I began to faint in my resolutions; my heart failed me very much, and sorely I repented of my rashness. When I had been out, and met with such terrible things as these I have talked of, I say I repented my rashness in venturing to abide in town. I wished often that I had not taken upon me to stay, but had gone away with my brother and his family.

Terrified by those frightful objects, I would retire home sometimes, and resolve to go out no more; and perhaps I would keep those resolutions for three or four days, which time I spent in the most serious thankfulness for my preservation and the preservation of my family, and the constant confession of my sins, giving myself up to God every day, and applying to Him with fasting, humiliation, and meditation. Such intervals as I had I employed in reading books and in writing down my memorandums of what occurred to me every day, and out of which, afterwards, I took most of this work, as it relates to my observations without doors. What I wrote of my private meditations I reserve for private use, and desire it may not be made public on any account whatever.

I also wrote other meditations upon divine subjects, such as occurred to me at that time and were profitable to myself, but not fit for any other view, and therefore I say no more of that.

I had a very good friend, a physician, whose name was Heath, whom I frequently visited during this

dismal time, and to whose advice I was very much obliged for many things which he directed me to take, by way of preventing the infection when I went out, as he found I frequently did, and to hold in my mouth when I was in the streets. He also came very often to see me, and as he was a good Christian as well as a good physician, his agreeable conversation was a very great support to me in the worst of this terrible time.

It was now the beginning of August, and the plague grew very violent and terrible in the place where I lived, and Dr. Heath coming to visit me, and finding that I ventured so often out in the streets, earnestly persuaded me to lock myself up and my family, and not to suffer any of us to go out of doors; to keep all our windows fast, shutters and curtains close, and never to open them; but first, to make a very strong smoke in the room where the window or door was to be opened, with rosin and pitch, brimstone or gunpowder, and the like; and we did this for some time; but as I had not laid in a store of provision for such a retreat, it was impossible that we could keep within doors entirely. However, I attempted, though it was so very late, to do something towards it; and first, as I had convenience both for brewing and baking, I went and bought two sacks of meal, and for several weeks, having an oven, we baked all our own bread; also I bought malt, and brewed as much beer as all the casks I had would hold, and which seemed enough to serve my house for five or six weeks; also I laid in a quantity of salt butter and Cheshire cheese; but I had no flesh-meat, and the plague raged so violently among the butchers and slaughter-houses on the other side of our street, where they are known to dwell in great numbers, that it was not advisable so much as to go over the street among them.

And here I must observe again, that this necessity of going out of our houses to buy provisions was in a great measure the ruin of the whole city, for the people catched the distemper on these occasions one of another, and even the provisions themselves were often tainted; at least I have great reason to believe so; and therefore I cannot say with satisfaction what I know is repeated with great assurance, that the market-people and such as brought provisions to town were never infected. I am certain the butchers of Whitechapel, where the greatest part of the flesh-meat was killed, were dreadfully visited, and that at least to such a degree that few of their shops were kept open, and those that remained of them killed their meat at Mile End and that way, and brought it to market upon horses.

However, the poor people could not lay up provisions, and there was a necessity that they must go to market to buy, and others to send servants or their children; and as this was a necessity which renewed itself daily, it brought abundance of unsound people to the markets, and a great many that went thither sound brought death home with them.

It is true people used all possible precaution. When any one bought a joint of meat in the market they would not take it off the butcher's hand, but took it off the hooks themselves. On the other hand, the butcher would not touch the money, but have it put into a pot full of vinegar, which he kept for that purpose. The buyer carried always small money to make up any odd sum, that they might take no change. They carried bottles of scents and perfumes in their hands, and all the means that could be used were used; but then the poor could not do even these things, and they went at all hazards.

Innumerable dismal stories we heard every day on

this very account. Sometimes a man or woman dropped down dead in the very markets, for many people that had the plague upon them knew nothing of it till the inward gangrene had affected their vitals, and they died in a few moments. This caused that many died frequently in that manner in the streets suddenly, without any warning; others perhaps had time to go to the next bulk or stall, or to any door-porch, and just sit down and die, as I have said before.

These objects were so frequent in the streets that when the plague came to be very raging on one side, there was scarce any passing by the streets but that several dead bodies would be lying here and there upon the ground. On the other hand, it is observable, that though at first the people would stop as they went along and call to the neighbours to come out on such an occasion, yet afterward no notice was taken of them; but that, if at any time we found a corpse lying, go across the way and not come near it; or, if in a narrow lane or passage, go back again and seek some other way to go on the business we were upon; and in those cases the corpse was always left till the officers had notice to come and take them away, or till night, when the bearers attending the dead-cart would take them up and carry them away. Nor did those undaunted creatures who performed these offices fail to search their pockets, and sometimes strip off their clothes if they were well dressed, as sometimes they were, and carry off what they could get.

But to return to the markets. The butchers took that care that if any person died in the market they had the officers always at hand to take them up upon hand-barrows and carry them to the next churchyard; and this was so frequent that such were not entered in the weekly bill, "Found dead in the

streets or fields," as is the case now, but they went into the general articles of the great distemper.

But now the fury of the distemper increased to such a degree that even the markets were but very thinly furnished with provisions or frequented with buyers compared to what they were before; and the Lord Mayor caused the country people who brought provisions to be stopped in the streets leading into the town, and to sit down there with their goods, where they sold what they brought, and went immediately away; and this encouraged the country people greatly to do so, for they sold their provisions at the very entrances into the town, and even in the fields, as particularly in the fields beyond Whitechapel, in Spitalfields;[1] also in St. George's Fields in Southwark, in Bunhill Fields, and in a great field called Wood's Close, near Islington. Thither the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and magistrates sent their officers and servants to buy for their families, themselves keeping within doors as much as possible, and the like did many other people; and after this method was taken the country people came with great cheerfulness, and brought provisions of all sorts, and very seldom got any harm, which, I suppose, added also to that report of their being miraculously preserved.

As for my little family, having thus, as I have said, laid in a store of bread, butter, cheese, and beer, I took my friend and physician's advice, and locked myself up, and my family, and resolved to suffer the hardship of living a few months without flesh-meat, rather than to purchase it at the hazard of our lives.

But though I confined my family, I could not prevail upon my unsatisfied curiosity to stay within entirely myself; and though I generally came frighted

[1] Those streets now called Spitalfields were then indeed open fields. [1754 edition.]

and terrified home, yet I could not restrain; only that indeed I did not do it so frequently as at first.

I had some little obligations, indeed, upon me to go to my brother's house, which was in Coleman Street parish, and which he had left to my care, and I went at first every day, but afterwards only once or twice a week.

In these walks I had many dismal scenes before my eyes, as particularly of persons falling dead in the streets, terrible shrieks and screechings of women, who, in their agonies, would throw open their chamber windows and cry out in a dismal, surprising manner. It is impossible to describe the variety of postures in which the passions of the poor people would express themselves.

Passing through Tokenhouse Yard, in Lothbury, of a sudden a casement violently opened just over my head, and a woman gave three frightful screeches, and then cried, "Oh! death, death, death!" in a most inimitable tone, and which struck me with horror and a chillness in my very blood. There was nobody to be seen in the whole street, neither did any other window open, for people had no curiosity now in any case, nor could anybody help one another, so I went on to pass into Bell Alley.

Just in Bell Alley, on the right hand of the passage, there was a more terrible cry than that, though it was not so directed out at the window; but the whole family was in a terrible fright, and I could hear women and children run screaming about the rooms like distracted, when a garret-window opened, and somebody from a window on the other side the alley called and asked, "What is the matter?" upon which, from the first window it was answered, "O Lord, my old master has hanged himself!" The other asked again, "Is he quite dead?" and the

first answered, "Ay, ay, quite dead; quite dead and cold!" This person was a merchant and a deputy alderman, and very rich. I care not to mention the name, though I knew his name too, but that would be an hardship to the family, which is now flourishing again.

But this is but one; it is scarce credible what dreadful cases happened in particular families every day. People in the rage of the distemper, or in the torment of their swellings, which was indeed intolerable, running out of their own government, raving and distracted, and oftentimes laying violent hands upon themselves, throwing themselves out at their windows, shooting themselves, &c.; mothers murdering their own children in their lunacy, some dying of mere grief as a passion, some of mere fright and surprise without any infection at all, others frighted into idiotism and foolish distractions, some into despair and lunacy, others into melancholy madness.

The pain of the swelling was in particular very violent, and to some intolerable; the physicians and surgeons may be said to have tortured many poor creatures even to death. The swellings in some grew hard, and they applied violent drawing-plaisters or poultices to break them, and if these did not do they cut and scarified them in a terrible manner. In some those swellings were made hard partly by the force of the distemper and partly by their being too violently drawn, and were so hard that no instrument could cut them, and then they burnt them with caustics, so that many died raving mad with the torment, and some in the very operation. In these distresses, some, for want of help to hold them down in their beds, or to look to them, laid hands upon themselves, as above. Some broke out into the streets, perhaps naked, and would run directly

down to the river, if they were not stopped by the watchmen or other officers, and plunge themselves into the water wherever they found it.

It often pierced my very soul to hear the groans and cries of those who were thus tormented, but of the two this was counted the most promising particular in the whole infection, for, if these swellings could be brought to a head, and to break and run, or, as the surgeons call it, to digest, the patient generally recovered; whereas those who, like the gentlewoman's daughter, were struck with death at the beginning, and had the tokens come out upon them, often went about indifferent easy till a little before they died, and some till the moment they dropped down, as in apoplexies and epilepsies is often the case. Such would be taken suddenly very sick, and would run to a bench or bulk, or any convenient place that offered itself, or to their own houses if possible, as I mentioned before, and there sit down, grow faint, and die. This kind of dying was much the same as it was with those who die of common mortifications, who die swooning, and, as it were, go away in a dream. Such as died thus had very little notice of their being infected at all till the gangrene was spread through their whole body; nor could physicians themselves know certainly how it was with them, till they opened their breasts or other parts of their body, and saw the tokens.

We had at this time a great many frightful stories told us of nurses and watchmen who looked after the dying people; that is to say, hired nurses, who attended infected people, using them barbarously, starving them, smothering them, or by other wicked means hastening their end, that is to say, murdering of them; and watchmen, being set to guard houses that were shut up when there has been but one person left, and perhaps that one lying sick, that they

have broke in and murdered that body, and immediately thrown them out into the dead-cart! and so they have gone scarce cold to the grave.

I cannot say but that some such murders were committed, and I think two were sent to prison for it, but died before they could be tried; and I have heard that three others, at several times, were excused for murders of that kind; but I must say I believe nothing of its being so common a crime as some have since been pleased to say, nor did it seem to be so rational where the people were brought so low as not to be able to help themselves, for such seldom recovered, and there was no temptation to commit a murder, at least none equal to the fact, where they were sure persons would die in so short a time, and could not live.

That there were a great many robberies and wicked practices committed even in this dreadful time I do not deny. The power of avarice was so strong in some that they would run any hazard to steal and to plunder; and particularly in houses where all the families or inhabitants have been dead and carried out, they would break in at all hazards, and without regard to the danger of infection, take even the clothes off the dead bodies and the bed-clothes from others where they lay dead.

This, I suppose, must be the case of a family in Houndsditch, where a man and his daughter, the rest of the family being, as I suppose, carried away before by the dead-cart, were found stark naked, one in one chamber and one in another, lying dead on the floor, and the clothes of the beds, from whence 't is supposed they were rolled off by thieves, stolen and carried quite away.

It is indeed to be observed that the women were in all this calamity the most rash, fearless, and desperate creatures, and as there were vast numbers that

went about as nurses to tend those that were sick, they committed a great many petty thieveries in the houses where they were employed; and some of them were publicly whipped for it, when perhaps they ought rather to have been hanged for examples, for numbers of houses were robbed on these occasions, till at length the parish officers were sent to recommend nurses to the sick, and always took an account whom it was they sent, so as that they might call them to account if the house had been abused where they were placed.

But these robberies extended chiefly to wearing-clothes, linen, and what rings or money they could come at when the person died who was under their care, but not to a general plunder of the houses; and I could give you an account of one of these nurses, who, several years after, being on her death-bed, confessed with the utmost horror the robberies she had committed at the time of her being a nurse, and by which she had enriched herself to a great degree. But as for murders, I do not find that there was ever any proof of the facts in the manner as it has been reported, except as above.

They did tell me, indeed, of a nurse in one place that laid a wet cloth upon the face of a dying patient whom she tended, and so put an end to his life, who was just expiring before; and another that smothered a young woman she was looking to when she was in a fainting fit, and would have come to herself; some that killed them by giving them one thing, some another, and some starved them by giving them nothing at all. But these stories had two marks of suspicion that always attended them, which caused me always to slight them, and to look on them as mere stories, that people continually frighted one another with. First, that wherever it was that we heard it, they always placed the scene at the

farther end of the town, opposite or most remote from where you were to hear it. If you heard it in Whitechapel, it had happened at St. Giles's, or at Westminster, or Holborn, or that end of the town. If you heard of it at that end of the town, then it was done in Whitechapel, or the Minories, or about Cripplegate parish. If you heard of it in the city, why, then it happened in Southwark; and if you heard of it in Southwark, then it was done in the city, and the like.

In the next place, of what part soever you heard the story, the particulars were always the same, especially that of laying a wet double clout on a dying man's face, and that of smothering a young gentlewoman; so that it was apparent, at least to my judgment, that there was more of tale than of truth in those things.

However, I cannot say but it had some effect upon the people, and particularly that, as I said before, they grew more cautious whom they took into their houses, and whom they trusted their lives with, and had them always recommended if they could; and where they could not find such, for they were not very plenty, they applied to the parish officers.

But here again the misery of that time lay upon the poor, who, being infected, had neither food or physic, neither physician or apothecary to assist them, or nurse to attend them. Many of those died calling for help, and even for sustenance, out at their windows, in a most miserable and deplorable manner; but it must be added that whenever the cases of such persons or families were represented to my Lord Mayor they always were relieved.

It is true, in some houses where the people were not very poor, yet where they had sent perhaps their wives and children away, and if they had any servants they had been dismissed; — I say, it is true,

that to save the expenses, many such as these shut themselves in, and not having help, died alone.

A neighbour and acquaintance of mine, having some money owing to him from a shopkeeper in Whitecross Street or thereabouts, sent his apprentice, a youth about eighteen years of age, to endeavour to get the money. He came to the door, and finding it shut, knocked pretty hard, and, as he thought, heard somebody answer within, but was not sure, so he waited, and after some stay knocked again, and then a third time, when he heard somebody coming downstairs.

At length the man of the house came to the door; he had on his breeches or drawers, and a yellow flannel waistcoat, no stockings, a pair of slipped-shoes, a white cap on his head, and, as the young man said, "death in his face."

When he opened the door, says he, "What do you disturb me thus for?" The boy, though a little surprised, replied, "I come from such a one, and my master sent me for the money which he says you know of." "Very well, child," returns the living ghost; "call as you go by at Cripplegate Church, and bid them ring the bell;" and with these words shut the door again, and went up again, and died the same day; nay, perhaps the same hour. This the young man told me himself, and I have reason to believe it. This was while the plague was not come to a height: I think it was in June, towards the latter end of the month; it must be before the dead-carts came about, and while they used the ceremony of ringing the bell for the dead, which was over for certain, in that parish at least, before the month of July, for by the 25th of July there died 550 and upwards in a week, and then they could no more bury in form, rich or poor.

I have mentioned above that notwithstanding this

dreadful calamity, yet the numbers of thieves were abroad upon all occasions, where they had found any prey, and that these were generally women. It was one morning about eleven o'clock, I had walked out to my brother's house in Coleman Street parish, as I often did, to see that all was safe.

My brother's house had a little court before it, and a brick wall and a gate in it, and within that several warehouses where his goods of several sorts lay. It happened that in one of these warehouses were several packs of women's high-crowned hats, which came out of the country, and were, as I suppose, for exportation, whither I know not.

I was surprised that when I came near my brother's door, which was in a place they called Swan Alley, I met three or four women with high-crowned hats on their heads; and, as I remembered afterwards, one, if not more, had some hats likewise in their hands; but as I did not see them come out at my brother's door, and not knowing that my brother had any such goods in his warehouse, I did not offer to say anything to them, but went across the way to shun meeting them, as was usual to do at that time, for fear of the plague. But when I came nearer to the gate, I met another woman with more hats come out of the gate. "What business, mistress," said I, "have you had there?" "There are more people there," said she; "I have had no more business there than they." I was hasty to get to the gate then, and said no more to her, by which means she got away. But just as I came to the gate, I saw two more coming across the yard to come out with hats also on their heads and under their arms, at which I threw the gate to behind me, which having a spring lock fastened itself; and turning to the women, "Forsooth," said I, "what are you doing here?" and seized upon the hats, and took them from them.

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One of them, who, I confess, did not look like a thief — "Indeed," says she, "we are wrong, but we were told they were goods that had no owner. Be pleased to take them again; and look yonder, there are more such customers as we." She cried and looked pitifully, so I took the hats from her, and opened the gate, and bade them be gone, for I pitied the women indeed; but when I looked towards the warehouse, as she directed, there were six or seven more, all women, fitting themselves with hats, as unconcerned and quiet as if they had been at a hatter's shop buying for their money.

I was surprised, not at the sight of so many thieves only, but at the circumstances I was in; being now to thrust myself in among so many people, who for some weeks had been so shy of myself, that if I met anybody in the street I would cross the way from them.

They were equally surprised, though on another account. They all told me they were neighbours, that they had heard any one might take them, that they were nobody's goods, and the like. I talked big to them at first, went back to the gate and took out the key, so that they were all my prisoners, threatened to lock them all into the warehouse, and go and fetch my Lord Mayor's officers for them.

They begged heartily, protested they found the gate open, and the warehouse door open; and that it had no doubt been broken open by some who expected to find goods of greater value, which indeed was reasonable to believe, because the lock was broke, and a padlock that hung to the door on the outside also loose, and not abundance of the hats carried away.

At length I considered that this was not a time to be cruel and rigorous; and besides that, it would necessarily oblige me to go much about, to have

several people come to me, and I go to several whose circumstances of health I knew nothing of; and that even at this time the plague was so high as that there died 4000 a week; so that in showing my resentment, or even in seeking justice for my brother's goods, I might lose my own life; so I contented myself with taking the names and places where some of them lived, who were really inhabitants in the neighbourhood, and threatening that my brother should call them to an account for it when he returned to his habitation.

Then I talked a little upon another foot with them, and asked them how they could do such things as these in a time of such general calamity, and, as it were, in the face of God's most dreadful judgments, when the plague was at their very doors, and, it may be, in their very houses, and they did not know but that the dead-cart might stop at their doors in a few hours, to carry them to their graves.

I could not perceive that my discourse made much impression upon them all that while, till it happened that there came two men of the neighbourhood, hearing of the disturbance, and knowing my brother, for they had been both dependents upon his family, and they came to my assistance. These being, as I said, neighbours, presently knew three of the women, and told me who they were, and where they lived; and, it seems, they had given me a true account of themselves before.

This brings these two men to a further remembrance. The name of one was John Hayward, who was at that time under-sexton of the parish of St. Stephen, Coleman Street. By under-sexton was understood at that time gravedigger and bearer of the dead. This man carried, or assisted to carry, all the dead to their graves which were buried in that large parish, and who were carried in form, and

after that form of burying was stopped, went with the dead-cart and the bell to fetch the dead bodies from the houses where they lay, and fetched many of them out of the chambers and houses; for the parish was, and is still, remarkable particularly, above all the parishes in London, for a great number of alleys and thoroughfares, very long, into which no carts could come, and where they were obliged to go and fetch the bodies a very long way; which alleys now remain to witness it, such as White's Alley, Cross Key Court, Swan Alley, Bell Alley, White Horse Alley, and many more. Here they went with a kind of hand-barrow and laid the dead bodies on it, and carried them out to the carts; which work he performed and never had the distemper at all, but lived about twenty years after it, and was sexton of the parish to the time of his death. His wife at the same time was a nurse to infected people, and tended many that died in the parish, being for her honesty recommended by the parish officers, yet she never was infected neither.

He never used any preservative against the infection, other than holding garlic and rue in his mouth, and smoking tobacco. This I also had from his own mouth. And his wife's remedy was washing her head in vinegar, and sprinkling her head-clothes so with vinegar as to keep them always moist; and if the smell of any of those she waited on was more than ordinary offensive, she snuffed vinegar up her nose and sprinkled vinegar upon her head-clothes, and held a handkerchief wetted with vinegar to her mouth.

It must be confessed that though the plague was chiefly among the poor, yet were the poor the most venturous and fearless of it, and went about their employment with a sort of brutal courage; I must call it so, for it was founded neither on religion nor prudence; scarce did they use any caution, but ran

into any business which they could get employment in, though it was the most hazardous. Such was that of tending the sick, watching houses shut up, carrying infected persons to the pest-house, and, which was still worse, carrying the dead away to their graves.

It was under this John Hayward's care, and within his bounds, that the story of the piper, with which people have made themselves so merry, happened, and he assured me that it was true. It is said that it was a blind piper; but, as John told me, the fellow was not blind, but an ignorant, weak, poor man, and usually walked his rounds about ten o'clock at night and went piping along from door to door, and the people usually took him in at public-houses where they knew him, and would give him drink and victuals, and sometimes farthings; and he in return would pipe and sing and talk simply, which diverted the people; and thus he lived. It was but a very bad time for this diversion while things were as I have told, yet the poor fellow went about as usual, but was almost starved; and when anybody asked how he did he would answer, the dead-cart had not taken him yet, but that they had promised to call for him next week.

It happened one night that this poor fellow, whether somebody had given him too much drink or no — John Hayward said he had not drink in his house, but that they had given him a little more victuals than ordinary at a public-house in Coleman Street — and the poor fellow, having not usually had a bellyful for perhaps not a good while, was laid all along upon the top of a bulk or stall, and fast asleep, at a door in the street near London Wall, towards Cripplegate, and that upon the same bulk or stall the people of some house, in the alley of which the house was a corner, hearing a bell, which they always

rang before the cart came, had laid a body really dead of the plague just by him, thinking, too, that this poor fellow had been a dead body, as the other was, and laid there by some of the neighbours.

Accordingly, when John Hayward with his bell and the cart came along, finding two dead bodies lie upon the stall, they took them up with the instrument they used and threw them into the cart, and all this while the piper slept soundly.

From hence they passed along and took in other dead bodies, till, as honest John Hayward told me, they almost buried him alive in the cart; yet all this while he slept soundly. At length the cart came to the place where the bodies were to be thrown into the ground, which, as I do remember, was at Mount Mill; and as the cart usually stopped some time before they were ready to shoot out the melancholy load they had in it, as soon as the cart stopped the fellow awaked and struggled a little to get his head out from among the dead bodies, when, raising himself up in the cart, he called out, "Hey! where am I?" This frighted the fellow that attended about the work; but after some pause John Hayward, recovering himself, said, "Lord, bless us! There's somebody in the cart not quite dead!" So another called to him and said, "Who are you?" The fellow answered, "I am the poor piper. Where am I?" "Where are you?" says Hayward. "Why, you are in the dead-cart, and we are going to bury you." "But I an't dead though, am I?" says the piper, which made them laugh a little, though, as John said, they were heartily frighted at first; so they helped the poor fellow down, and he went about his business.

I know the story goes he set up his pipes in the cart and frighted the bearers and others so that they ran away; but John Hayward did not tell the story

so, nor say anything of his piping at all; but that he was a poor piper, and that he was carried away as above I am fully satisfied of the truth of.

It is to be noted here that the dead-carts in the city were not confined to particular parishes, but one cart went through several parishes, according as the number of dead presented; nor were they tied to carry the dead to their respective parishes, but many of the dead taken up in the city were carried to the burying-ground in the out-parts for want of room.

I have already mentioned the surprise that this judgment was at first among the people. I must be allowed to give some of my observations on the more serious and religious part. Surely never city, at least of this bulk and magnitude, was taken in a condition so perfectly unprepared for such a dreadful visitation, whether I am to speak of the civil preparations or religious. They were, indeed, as if they had had no warning, no expectation, no apprehensions, and consequently the least provision imaginable was made for it in a public way. For example, the Lord Mayor and sheriffs had made no provision as magistrates for the regulations which were to be observed. They had gone into no measures for relief of the poor. The citizens had no public magazines or store-houses for corn or meal for the subsistence of the poor, which if they had provided themselves, as in such cases is done abroad, many miserable families, who were now reduced to the utmost distress, would have been relieved, and that in a better manner than now could be done.

The stock of the city's money I can say but little to. The Chamber of London was said to be exceeding rich, and it may be concluded that they were so, by the vast sums of money issued from thence in the rebuilding the public edifices after the fire of Lon-

don, and in building new works, such as, for the first part, the Guildhall, Blackwell Hall, part of Leadenhall, half the Exchange, the Session House, the Compter, the prisons of Ludgate, Newgate &c., several of the wharfs and stairs and landing-places on the river; all which were either burned down or damaged by the great fire of London, the next year after the plague; and of the second sort, the Monument, Fleet Ditch with its bridges, and the Hospital of Bethlem or Bedlam, &c. But possibly the managers of the city's credit at that time made more conscience of breaking in upon the orphan's money to show charity to the distressed citizens than the managers in the following years did to beautify the city and re-edify the buildings, though, in the first case, the losers would have thought their fortunes better bestowed, and the public faith of the city have been less subjected to scandal and reproach.

It must be acknowledged that the absent citizens, who, though they were fled for safety into the country, were yet greatly interested in the welfare of those whom they left behind, forgot not to contribute liberally to the relief of the poor, and large sums were also collected among trading towns in the remotest parts of England; and, as I have heard also, the nobility and the gentry in all parts of England took the deplorable condition of the city into their consideration, and sent up large sums of money in charity to the Lord Mayor and magistrates for the relief of the poor. The king also, as I was told, ordered a thousand pounds a week to be distributed in four parts: one quarter to the city and liberty of Westminster; one quarter or part among the inhabitants of the Southwark side of the water; one quarter to the liberty and parts within of the city, exclusive of the city within the walls; and one-fourth part to the suburbs in the county of Middlesex, and

the east and north parts of the city. But this latter I only speak of as a report.

Certain it is, the greatest part of the poor or families who formerly lived by their labour, or by retail trade, lived now on charity; and had there not been prodigious sums of money given by charitable, well-minded Christians for the support of such, the city could never have subsisted. There were, no question, accounts kept of their charity, and of the just distribution of it by the magistrates. But as such multitudes of those very officers died through whose hands it was distributed, and also that, as I have been told, most of the accounts of those things were lost in the great fire which happened in the very next year, and which burnt even the chamberlain's office and many of their papers, so I could never come at the particular account, which I used great endeavours to have seen.

It may, however, be a direction in case of the approach of a like visitation, which God keep the city from; — I say, it may be of use to observe that by the care of the Lord Mayor and aldermen at that time in distributing weekly great sums of money for relief of the poor, a multitude of people, who would otherwise have perished, were relieved, and their lives preserved. And here let me enter into a brief state of the case of the poor at that time, and what way apprehended from them, from whence may be judged hereafter what may be expected if the like distress should come upon the city.

At the beginning of the plague, when there was now no more hope but that the whole city would be visited; when, as I have said, all that had friends or estates in the country retired with their families; and when, indeed, one would have thought the very city itself was running out of the gates, and that there would be nobody left behind; you may be

sure from that hour all trade, except such as related to immediate subsistence, was, as it were, at a full stop.

This is so lively a case, and contains in it so much of the real condition of the people, that I think I cannot be too particular in it, and therefore I descend to the several arrangements or classes of people who fell into immediate distress upon this occasion. For example: —

1. All master-workmen in manufactures, especially such as belonged to ornament, and the less necessary parts of the people's dress, clothes, and furniture for houses, such as riband-weavers and other weavers, gold and silver lace makers, and gold and silver wire drawers, sempstresses, milliners, shoemakers, hatmakers, and glovemakers; also upholsterers, joiners, cabinet-makers, looking-glass makers, and innumerable trades which depend upon such as these; — I say, the master-workmen in such stopped their work, dismissed their journeymen and workmen, and all their dependents.

2. As merchandising was at a full stop, for very few ships ventured to come up the river, and none at all went out, so all the extraordinary officers of the customs, likewise the watermen, carmen, porters, and all the poor, whose labour depended upon the merchants, were at once dismissed, and put out of business.

3. All the tradesmen usually employed in building or repairing of houses were at a full stop, for the people were far from wanting to build houses when so many thousand houses were at once stripped of their inhabitants; so that this one article turned all the ordinary workmen of that kind out of business, such as bricklayers, masons, carpenters, joiners, plasterers, painters, glaziers, smiths, plumbers, and all the labourers depending on such.

4. As navigation was at a stop, our ships neither coming in or going out as before, so the seamen were all out of employment, and many of them in the last

and lowest degree of distress; and with the seamen were all the several tradesmen and workmen belonging to and depending upon the building and fitting out of ships, such as ship-carpenters, caulkers, ropemakers, dry coopers, sailmakers, anchorsmiths, and other smiths; blockmakers, carvers, gunsmiths, ship-chandlers, ship-carvers, and the like. The masters of those perhaps might live upon their substance, but the traders were universally at a stop, and consequently all their workmen discharged. Add to these that the river was in a manner without boats, and all or most part of the watermen, lightermen, boat-builders, and lighter-builders, in like manner idle and laid by.

5. All families retrenched their living as much as possible, as well those that fled as those that stayed; so that an innumerable multitude of footmen, serving-men, shopkeepers, journeymen, merchants' bookkeepers, and such sort of people, and especially poor maid-servants, were turned off, and left friendless and helpless, without employment and without habitation, and this was really a dismal article.

I might be more particular as to this part, but it may suffice to mention in general, all trades being stopped, employment ceased, the labour, and by that the bread, of the poor were cut off; and at first indeed the cries of the poor were most lamentable to hear, though by the distribution of charity their misery that way was greatly abated. Many indeed fled into the counties, but thousands of them having stayed in London till nothing but desperation sent them away, death overtook them on the road, and they served for no better than the messengers of death; indeed, others carrying the infection along with them, spread it very unhappily into the remotest parts of the kingdom.

Many of these were the miserable objects of despair which I have mentioned before, and were re-

moved by the destruction which followed. These might be said to perish, not by the infection itself, but by the consequence of it; indeed, namely, by hunger and distress, and the want of all things, being without lodging, without money, without friends, without means to get their bread, or without any one to give it them; for many of them were without what we call legal settlements, and so could not claim of the parishes, and all the support they had was by application to the magistrates for relief, which relief was (to give the magistrates their due) carefully and cheerfully administered, as they found it necessary, and those that stayed behind never felt the want and distress of that kind, which they felt who went away in the manner above noted.

Let any one who is acquainted with what multitudes of people get their daily bread in this city by their labour, whether artificers or mere workmen—I say, let any man consider what must be the miserable condition of this town if, on a sudden, they should be all turned out of employment, that labour should cease, and wages for work be no more.

This was the case with us at that time; and had not the sums of money contributed in charity by well-disposed people of every kind, as well abroad as at home, been prodigiously great, it had not been in the power of the Lord Mayor and sheriffs to have kept the public peace. Nor were they without apprehensions, as it was, that desperation should push the people upon tumults, and cause them to rifle the houses of rich men and plunder the markets of provisions; in which case the country people, who brought provisions very freely and boldly to town, would have been terrified from coming any more, and the town would have sunk under an unavoidable famine.

But the prudence of my Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen within the city, and of the justices

of peace in the out-parts, was such, and they were supported with money from all parts so well, that the poor people were kept quiet, and their wants everywhere relieved, as far as was possible to be done.

Two things besides this contributed to prevent the mob doing any mischief. One was, that really the rich themselves had not laid up stores of provisions in their houses, as indeed they ought to have done, and which if they had been wise enough to have done, and locked themselves entirely up, as some few did, they had perhaps escaped the disease better. But as it appeared they had not, so the mob had no notion of finding stores of provisions there if they had broken in, as it is plain they were sometimes very near doing, and which, if they had, they had finished the ruin of the whole city, for there were no regular troops to have withstood them, nor could the trained bands have been brought together to defend the city, no men being to be found to bear arms.

But the vigilance of the Lord Mayor and such magistrates as could be had (for some, even of the aldermen, were dead, and some absent) prevented this; and they did it by the most kind and gentle methods they could think of, as particularly by relieving the most desperate with money, and putting others into business, and particularly that employment of watching houses that were infected and shut up. And as the number of these were very great, for it was said there was at one time ten thousand houses shut up, and every house had two watchmen to guard it, viz., one by night and the other by day, this gave opportunity to employ a very great number of poor men at a time.

The women and servants that were turned off from their places were likewise employed as nurses to tend the sick in all places, and this took off a very great number of them.

And, which though a melancholy article in itself, yet was a deliverance in its kind, namely, the plague, which raged in a dreadful manner from the middle of August to the middle of October, carried off in that time thirty or forty thousand of these very people, which, had they been left, would certainly have been an insufferable burden by their poverty; that is to say, the whole city could not have supported the expense of them, or have provided food for them; and they would in time have been even driven to the necessity of plundering either the city itself or the country adjacent, to have subsisted themselves, which would, first or last, have put the whole nation, as well as the city, into the utmost terror and confusion.

It was observable, then, that this calamity of the people made them very humble; for now for about nine weeks together there died near a thousand a day, one day with another, even by the account of the weekly bills, which yet, I have reason to be assured, never gave a full account, by many thousands, the confusion being such, and the carts working in the dark when they carried the dead, that in some places no account at all was kept, but they worked on, the clerks and sextons not attending for weeks together, and not knowing what number they carried. This account is verified by the following bills of mortality: —

	Of all Diseases.	Of the Plague.
From August 8 to August 15	5319	3880
" " 15 " 22	5568	4237
" " 22 " 29	7496	6102
" " 29 to September 5	8252	6988
" September 5 " 12	7690	6544
" " 12 " 19	8297	7165
" " 19 " 26	6460	5533
" " 26 to October 3	5720	4929
" October 3 " 10	5068	4327
	59,870	49,705

So that the gross of the people were carried off in these two months; for, as the whole number which was brought in to die of the plague was but 68,590, here is 50,000 of them, within a trifle, in two months; I say 50,000, because, as there wants 295 in the number above, so there wants two days [*sic*] of two months in the account of time.

Now, when I say that the parish officers did not give in a full account, or were not to be depended upon for their account, let any one but consider how men could be exact in such a time of dreadful distress, and when many of them were taken sick themselves, and perhaps died in the very time when their accounts were to be given in; I mean the parish clerks, besides inferior officers; for though these poor men ventured at all hazards, yet they were far from being exempt from the common calamity, especially if it be true that the parish of Stepney had, within the year, 116 sextons, gravediggers, and their assistants; that is to say, bearers, bellmen, and drivers of carts for carrying off the dead bodies.

Indeed the work was not of a nature to allow them leisure to take an exact tale of the dead bodies, which were all huddled together in the dark into a pit; which pit or trench no man could come nigh but at the utmost peril. I observed often that in the parishes of Aldgate and Cripplegate, Whitechapel and Stepney, there were five, six, seven, and eight hundred in a week in the bills, whereas, if we may believe the opinion of those that lived in the city all the time as well as I, there died sometimes 2000 a week in those parishes; and I saw it under the hand of one that made as strict an examination into that part as he could, that there really died an hundred thousand people of the plague in that one year, whereas in the bills, the articles of the plague, it was but 68,590.

If I may be allowed to give my opinion, by what I saw with my eyes and heard from other people that were eye-witnesses, I do verily believe the same, viz., that there died at least 100,000 of the plague only, besides other distempers, and besides those which died in the fields and highways and secret places out of the compass of the communication, as it was called, and who were not put down in the bills, though they really belonged to the body of the inhabitants. It was known to us all that abundance of poor despairing creatures who had the distemper upon them, and were grown stupid or melancholy by their misery, as many were, wandered away into the fields and woods, and into secret, uncouth places, almost anywhere, to creep into a bush or hedge and die.

The inhabitants of the villages adjacent would, in pity, carry them food, and set it at a distance, that they might fetch it, if they were able; and sometimes they were not able, and the next time they went they should find the poor wretches lie dead and the food untouched. The number of these miserable objects were many, and I know so many that perished thus, and so exactly where, that I believe I could go to the very place and dig their bones up still; for the country people would go and dig a hole at a distance from them, and then with long poles, and hooks at the end of them, drag the bodies into these pits, and then throw the earth in from as far as they could cast it, to cover them, taking notice how the wind blew, and so coming on that side which the seamen call to windward, that the scent of the bodies might blow from them; and thus great numbers went out of the world, who were never known, or any account of them taken, as well within the bills of mortality as without.

This, indeed, I had in the main only from the relation of others, for I seldom walked into the fields,

except towards Bethnal Green and Hackney, or as hereafter. But when I did walk, I always saw a great many poor wanderers at a distance; but I could know little of their cases, for whether it were in the street or in the fields, if we had seen anybody coming, it was a general method to walk away; yet I believe the account is exactly true.

As this puts me upon mentioning my walking the streets and fields, I cannot omit taking notice what a desolate place the city was at that time. The great street I lived in, which is known to be one of the broadest of all the streets of London, I mean of the suburbs as well as the liberties, all the side where the butchers lived, especially without the bars, was more like a green field than a paved street, and the people generally went in the middle with the horses and carts. It is true that the farthest end towards Whitechapel Church was not all paved, but even the part that was paved was full of grass also; but this need not seem strange, since the great streets within the city, such as Leadenhall Street, Bishopsgate Street, Cornhill, and even the Exchange itself, had grass growing in them in several places; neither cart or coach were seen in the streets from morning to evening, except some country carts to bring roots and beans, or peas, hay, and straw, to the market, and those but very few compared to what was usual. As for coaches, they were scarce used but to carry sick people to the pest-house, and to other hospitals, and some few to carry physicians to such places as they thought fit to venture to visit; for really coaches were dangerous things, and people did not care to venture into them, because they did not know who might have been carried in them last, and sick, infected people were, as I have said, ordinarily carried in them to the pest-houses, and sometimes people expired in them as they went along.

It is true, when the infection came to such a height as I have now mentioned, there were very few physicians which cared to stir abroad to sick houses, and very many of the most eminent of the faculty were dead, as well as the surgeons also; for now it was indeed a dismal time, and for about a month together, not taking any notice of the bills of mortality, I believe there did not die less than 1500 or 1700 a day, one day with another.

One of the worst days we had in the whole time, as I thought, was in the beginning of September, when, indeed, good people began to think that God was resolved to make a full end of the people in this miserable city. This was at that time when the plague was fully come into the eastern parishes. The parish of Aldgate, if I may give my opinion, buried above a thousand a week for two weeks, though the bills did not say so many; — but it surrounded me at so dismal a rate that there was not a house in twenty uninfected in the Minories, in Houndsditch, and in those parts of Aldgate parish about the Butcher Row and the alleys over against me. I say, in those places death reigned in every corner. Whitechapel parish was in the same condition, and though much less than the parish I lived in, yet buried near 600 a week by the bills, and in my opinion near twice as many. Whole families, and indeed whole streets of families, were swept away together; insomuch that it was frequent for neighbours to call to the bellman to go to such-and-such houses and fetch out the people, for that they were all dead.

And, indeed, the work of removing the dead bodies by carts was now grown so very odious and dangerous that it was complained of that the bearers did not take care to clear such houses where all the inhabitants were dead, but that sometimes the bodies

lay several days unburied, till the neighbouring families were offended with the stench, and consequently infected; and this neglect of the officers was such that the churchwardens and constables were summoned to look after it, and even the justices of the Hamlets were obliged to venture their lives among them to quicken and encourage them, for innumerable of the bearers died of the distemper, infected by the bodies they were obliged to come so near. And had it not been that the number of poor people who wanted employment and wanted bread (as I have said before) was so great that necessity drove them to undertake anything and venture anything, they would never have found people to be employed. And then the bodies of the dead would have lain above ground, and have perished and rotted in a dreadful manner.

But the magistrates cannot be enough commended in this, that they kept such good order for the burying of the dead, that as fast as any of those they employed to carry off and bury the dead fell sick or died, as was many times the case, they immediately supplied the places with others, which, by reason of the great number of poor that was left out of business, as above, was not hard to do. This occasioned, that notwithstanding the infinite number of people which died and were sick, almost all together, yet they were always cleared away and carried off every night, so that it was never to be said of London that the living were not able to bury the dead.

As the desolation was greater during those terrible times, so the amazement of the people increased, and a thousand unaccountable things they would do in the violence of their fright, as others did the same in the agonies of their distemper, and this part was very affecting. Some went roaring and crying and wringing their hands along the street; some would

go praying and lifting up their hands to heaven, calling upon God for mercy. I cannot say, indeed, whether this was not in their distraction, but, be it so, it was still an indication of a more serious mind, when they had the use of their senses, and was much better, even as it was, than the frightful yellings and cryings that every day, and especially in the evenings, were heard in some streets. I suppose the world has heard of the famous Solomon Eagle, an enthusiast. He, though not infected at all but in his head, went about denouncing of judgment upon the city in a frightful manner, sometimes quite naked, and with a pan of burning charcoal on his head. What he said, or pretended, indeed I could not learn.

I will not say whether that clergyman was distracted or not, or whether he did it in pure zeal for the poor people, who went every evening through the streets of Whitechapel, and, with his hands lifted up, repeated that part of the Liturgy of the Church continually, "Spare us, good Lord; spare Thy people, whom Thou hast redeemed with Thy most precious blood." I say, I cannot speak positively of these things, because these were only the dismal objects which represented themselves to me as I looked through my chamber windows (for I seldom opened the casements), while I confined myself within doors during that most violent raging of the pestilence; when, indeed, as I have said, many began to think, and even to say, that there would none escape; and indeed I began to think so too, and therefore kept within doors for about a fortnight, and never stirred out. But I could not hold it. Besides, there were some people who, notwithstanding the danger, did not omit publicly to attend the worship of God, even in the most dangerous times; and though it is true that a great many clergymen did shut up their churches, and

fled, as other people did, for the safety of their lives, yet all did not do so. Some ventured to officiate and to keep up the assemblies of the people by constant prayers, and sometimes sermons or brief exhortations to repentance and reformation, and this as long as any would come to hear them. And Dissenters did the like also, and even in the very churches where the parish ministers were either dead or fled; nor was there any room for making difference at such a time as this was.

It was indeed a lamentable thing to hear the miserable lamentations of poor dying creatures calling out for ministers to comfort them and pray with them, to counsel them and to direct them, calling out to God for pardon and mercy, and confessing aloud their past sins. It would make the stoutest heart bleed to hear how many warnings were then given by dying penitents to others not to put off and delay their repentance to the day of distress; that such a time of calamity as this was no time for repentance, was no time to call upon God. I wish I could repeat the very sound of those groans and of those exclamations that I heard from some poor dying creatures when in the height of their agonies and distress, and that I could make him that reads this hear, as I imagine I now hear them, for the sound seems still to ring in my ears.

If I could but tell this part in such moving accents as should alarm the very soul of the reader, I should rejoice that I recorded those things, however short and imperfect.

It pleased God that I was still spared, and very hearty and sound in health, but very impatient of being pent up within doors without air, as I have been for fourteen days or thereabouts, and I could not restrain myself, but I would go to carry a letter for my brother to the post-house. Then it was in-

deed that I observed a profound silence in the streets. When I came to the post-house, as I went to put in my letter, I saw a man stand in one corner of the yard and talking to another at a window, and a third had opened a door belonging to the office. In the middle of the yard lay a small leather purse with two keys hanging at it, with money in it, but nobody would meddle with it. I asked how long it had lain there; the man at the window said it had lain almost an hour, but that they had not meddled with it, because they did not know but the person who dropped it might come back to look for it. I had no such need of money, nor was the sum so big that I had any inclination to meddle with it, or to get the money at the hazard it might be attended with; so I seemed to go away, when the man who had opened the door said he would take it up, but so that if the right owner came for it he should be sure to have it. So he went in and fetched a pail of water, and set it down hard by the purse, then went again and fetched some gunpowder, and cast a good deal of powder upon the purse, and then made a train from that which he had thrown loose upon the purse. The train reached about two yards. After this he goes in a third time and fetches out a pair of tongs red hot, and which he had prepared, I suppose, on purpose, and first setting fire to the train of powder, that singed the purse, and also smoked the air sufficiently. But he was not content with that, but he then takes up the purse with the tongs, holding it so long till the tongs burnt through the purse, and then he shook the money out into the pail of water, so he carried it in. The money, as I remember, was about thirteen shillings and some smooth groats and brass farthings.

There might perhaps have been several poor people, as I have observed above, that would have been

hardy enough to have ventured for the sake of the money; but you may easily see by what I have observed that the few people who were spared were very careful of themselves at that time when the distress was so exceeding great.

Much about the same time I walked out into the fields towards Bow; for I had a great mind to see how things were managed in the river and among the ships; and as I had some concern in shipping, I had a notion that it had been one of the best ways of securing one's self from the infection to have retired into a ship; and musing how to satisfy my curiosity in that point, I turned away over the fields from Bow to Bromley, and down to Blackwall to the stairs, which are there for landing or taking water.

Here I saw a poor man walking on the bank, or sea-wall, as they call it, by himself. I walked a while also about, seeing the houses all shut up. At last I fell into some talk, at a distance, with this poor man; first I asked him how people did thereabouts. "Alas, sir!" says he, "almost desolate; all dead or sick. Here are very few families in this part, or in that village" (pointing at Poplar), "where half of them are not dead already, and the rest sick." Then he pointing to one house, "There they are all dead," said he, "and the house stands open; nobody dares go into it. A poor thief," says he, "ventured in to steal something, but he paid dear for his theft, for he was carried to the churchyard too last night." Then he pointed to several other houses. "There," says he, "they are all dead, the man and his wife, and five children. There," says he, "they are shut up; you see a watchman at the door;" and so of other houses. "Why," says I, "what do you here all alone?" "Why," says he, "I am a poor, desolate man; it has pleased God I am not yet visited, though my family is, and one of

my children dead." "How do you mean, then," said I, "that you are not visited?" "Why," says he, "that 's my house" (pointing to a very little, low-boarded house), "and there my poor wife and two children live," said he, "if they may be said to live, for my wife and one of the children are visited, but I do not come at them." And with that word I saw the tears run very plentifully down his face; and so they did down mine too, I assure you.

"But," said I, "why do you not come at them? How can you abandon your own flesh and blood?" "Oh, sir," says he, "the Lord forbid! I do not abandon them; I work for them as much as I am able; and, blessed be the Lord, I keep them from want;" and with that I observed he lifted up his eyes to heaven, with a countenance that presently told me I had happened on a man that was no hypocrite, but a serious, religious, good man, and his ejaculation was an expression of thankfulness that, in such a condition as he was in, he should be able to say his family did not want. "Well," says I, "honest man, that is a great mercy as things go now with the poor. But how do you live, then, and how are you kept from the dreadful calamity that is now upon us all?" "Why, sir," says he, "I am a waterman, and there 's my boat," says he, "and the boat serves me for a house. I work in it in the day, and I sleep in it in the night; and what I get I lay down upon that stone," says he, showing me a broad stone on the other side of the street, a good way from his house; "and then," says he, "I halloo, and call to them till I make them hear; and they come and fetch it."

"Well, friend," says I, "but how can you get any money as a waterman? Does anybody go by water these times?" "Yes, sir," says he, "in the way I am employed there does. Do you see there," says

he, "five ships lie at anchor" (pointing down the river a good way below the town), "and do you see," says he, "eight or ten ships lie at the chain there, and at anchor yonder?" (pointing above the town). "All those ships have families on board, of their merchants and owners, and such-like, who have locked themselves up and live on board, close shut in, for fear of the infection; and I tend on them to fetch things for them, carry letters, and do what is absolutely necessary, that they may not be obliged to come on shore; and every night I fasten my boat on board one of the ship's boats, and there I sleep by myself, and, blessed be God, I am preserved hitherto."

"Well," said I, "friend, but will they let you come on board after you have been on shore here, when this is such a terrible place, and so infected as it is?"

"Why, as to that," said he, "I very seldom go up the ship-side, but deliver what I bring to their boat, or lie by the side, and they hoist it on board. If I did, I think they are in no danger from me, for I never go into any house on shore, or touch anybody, no, not of my own family; but I fetch provisions for them."

"Nay," says I, "but that may be worse, for you must have those provisions of somebody or other; and since all this part of the town is so infected, it is dangerous so much as to speak with anybody, for the village," said I, "is, as it were, the beginning of London, though it be at some distance from it."

"That is true," added he; "but you do not understand me right; I do not buy provisions for them here. I row up to Greenwich and buy fresh meat there, and sometimes I row down the river to Woolwich and buy there; then I go to single farm-houses on the Kentish side, where I am known, and buy fowls and eggs and butter, and bring to the ships, as they direct me, sometimes one, sometimes the other.

I seldom come on shore here, and I came now only to call to my wife and hear how my little family do, and give them a little money, which I received last night."

"Poor man!" said I; "and how much hast thou gotten for them?"

"I have gotten four shillings," said he, "which is a great sum, as things go now with poor men; but they have given me a bag of bread too, and a salt fish and some flesh; so all helps out."

"Well," said I, "and have you given it them yet?"

"No," said he; "but I have called, and my wife has answered that she cannot come out yet, but in half-an-hour she hopes to come, and I am waiting for her. Poor woman!" says he, "she is brought sadly down. She has a swelling, and it is broke, and I hope she will recover; but I fear the child will die, but it is the Lord ——"

Here he stopped, and wept very much.

"Well, honest friend," said I, "thou hast a sure Comforter, if thou hast brought thyself to be resigned to the will of God; He is dealing with us all in judgment."

"Oh, sir!" says he, "it is infinite mercy if any of us are spared, and who am I to repine!"

"Sayest thou so?" said I, "and how much less is my faith than thine?" And here my heart smote me, suggesting how much better this poor man's foundation was on which he stayed in the danger than mine; that he had nowhere to fly; that he had a family to bind him to attendance, which I had not; and mine was mere presumption, his a true dependence, and a courage resting on God; and yet that he used all possible caution for his safety.

I turned a little way from the man while these thoughts engaged me, for, indeed, I could no more refrain from tears than he.

At length, after some further talk, the poor woman

opened the door and called, "Robert, Robert." He answered, and bid her stay a few moments and he would come; so he ran down the common stairs to his boat and fetched up a sack, in which was the provisions he had brought from the ships; and when he returned he hallooed again. Then he went to the great stone which he showed me and emptied the sack, and laid all out, everything by themselves, and then retired; and his wife came with a little boy to fetch them away, and he called and said such a captain had sent such a thing, and such a captain such a thing, and at the end adds, "God has sent it all; give thanks to Him." When the poor woman had taken up all, she was so weak she could not carry it at once in, though the weight was not much neither; so she left the biscuit, which was in a little bag, and left a little boy to watch it till she came again.

"Well, but," says I to him, "did you leave her the four shillings too, which you said was your week's pay?"

"Yes, yes," says he; "you shall hear her own it." So he calls again, "Rachel, Rachel," which, it seems, was her name, "did you take up the money?" "Yes," said she. "How much was it?" said he. "Four shillings and a groat," said she. "Well, well," says he, "the Lord keep you all;" and so he turned to go away.

As I could not refrain contributing tears to this man's story, so neither could I refrain my charity for his assistance. So I called him, "Hark thee, friend," said I, "come hither, for I believe thou art in health, that I may venture thee;" so I pulled out my hand, which was in my pocket before, "Here," says I, "go and call thy Rachel once more, and give her a little more comfort from me. God will never forsake a family that trust in Him as thou dost."

So I gave him four other shillings, and bid him go lay them on the stone and call his wife.

I have not words to express the poor man's thankfulness, neither could he express it himself but by tears running down his face. He called his wife, and told her God had moved the heart of a stranger, upon hearing their condition, to give them all that money, and a great deal more such as that he said to her. The woman, too, made signs of the like thankfulness, as well to Heaven as to me, and joyfully picked it up; and I parted with no money all that year that I thought better bestowed.

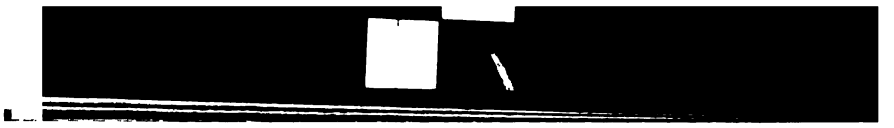
I then asked the poor man if the distemper had not reached to Greenwich. He said it had not till about a fortnight before; but that then he feared it had, but that it was only at that end of the town which lay south towards Deptford Bridge; that he went only to a butcher's shop and a grocer's, where he generally bought such things as they sent him for, but was very careful.

I asked him then how it came to pass that those people who had so shut themselves up in the ships had not laid in sufficient stores of all things necessary. He said some of them had, but, on the other hand, some did not come on board till they were frighted into it, and till it was too dangerous for them to go to the proper people to lay in quantities of things, and that he waited on two ships, which he showed me, that had laid in little or nothing but biscuit bread and ship beer, and that he had bought everything else almost for them. I asked him if there was any more ships that had separated themselves as those had done. He told me yes, all the way up from the point, right against Greenwich, to within the shore of Limehouse and Redriff, all the ships that could have room rid two and two in the middle of the stream, and that some of them had

several families on board. I asked him if the distemper had not reached them. He said he believed it had not, except two or three ships, whose people had not been so watchful to keep the seamen from going on shore, as others had been, and he said it was a very fine sight to see how the ships lay up the Pool.

When he said he was going over to Greenwich as soon as the tide began to come in, I asked if he would let me go with him, and bring me back, for that I had a great mind to see how the ships were ranged, as he had told me. He told me, if I would assure him on the word of a Christian and of an honest man, that I had not the distemper, he would. I assured him that I had not; that it had pleased God to preserve me; that I lived in Whitechapel, but was too impatient of being so long within doors, and that I had ventured out so far for the refreshment of a little air, but that none in my house had so much as been touched with it.

"Well, sir," says he, "as your charity has been moved to pity me and my poor family, sure you cannot have so little pity left as to put yourself into my boat if you were not sound in health, which would be nothing less than killing me, and ruining my whole family." The poor man troubled me so much when he spoke of his family with such a sensible concern, and in such an affectionate manner, that I could not satisfy myself at first to go at all. I told him I would lay aside my curiosity rather than make him uneasy, though I was sure, and very thankful for it, that I had no more distemper upon me than the freshest man in the world. Well, he would not have me put it off neither, but, to let me see how confident he was that I was just to him, now importuned me to go; so when the tide came up to his boat I went in, and he carried me to Greenwich.



While he bought the things which he had in his charge to buy, I walked up to the top of the hill under which the town stands, and on the east side of the town, to get a prospect of the river. But it was a surprising sight to see the number of ships which lay in rows, two and two, and some places two or three such lines in the breadth of the river, and this not only up quite to the town, between the houses which we call Ratcliff and Redriff, which they name the Pool, but even down the whole river, as far as the head of Long Reach, which is as far as the hills give us leave to see it.

I cannot guess at the number of ships, but I think there must be several hundreds of sail; and I could not but applaud the contrivance, for ten thousand people, and more, who attended ship affairs were certainly sheltered here from the violence of the contagion, and lived very safe and very easy.

I returned to my own dwelling very well satisfied with my day's journey, and particularly with the poor man; also, I rejoiced to see that such little sanctuaries were provided for so many families in a time of such desolation. I observed also, that as the violence of the plague had increased, so the ships which had families on board removed and went farther off, till, as I was told, some went quite away to sea, and put into such harbours and safe roads on the north coast as they could best come at.

But it was also true that all the people who thus left the land and lived on board the ships were not entirely safe from the infection, for many died and were thrown overboard into the river, some in coffins, and some, as I heard, without coffins, whose bodies were seen sometimes to drive up and down with the tide in the river.

But I believe I may venture to say that in those ships which were thus infected it either happened

where the people had recourse to them too late, and did not fly to the ship till they had stayed too long on shore and had the distemper upon them, though perhaps they might not perceive it, and so the distemper did not come to them on board the ships, but they really carried it with them; or it was in these ships where the poor waterman said they had not had time to furnish themselves with provisions, but were obliged to send often on shore to buy what they had occasion for, or suffered boats to come to them from the shore. And so the distemper was brought insensibly among them.

And here I cannot but take notice that the strange temper of the people of London at that time contributed extremely to their own destruction. The plague began, as I have observed, at the other end of the town, namely, in Long Acre, Drury Lane, &c., and came on towards the city very gradually and slowly. It was felt at first in December, then again in February, then again in April, and always but a very little at a time; then it stopped till May, and even the last week in May there was but seventeen, and all at that end of the town; and all this while, even so long as till there died above 3000 a week, yet had the people in Redriff, and in Wapping and Ratcliff, on both sides the river, and almost all Southwark side, a mighty fancy that they should not be visited, or at least that it would not be so violent among them. Some people fancied the smell of the pitch and tar, and such other things as oil and rosin and brimstone, which is so much used by all trades relating to shipping, would preserve them. Others argued it, because it was in its extremest violence in Westminster and the parish of St. Giles and St. Andrew, &c., and began to abate again before it came among them, which was true indeed, in part. For example —

From the 8th to the 15th August —

St. Giles-in-the-Fields	242
Cripplegate	886
Stepney	197
St. Margaret, Bermondsey	24
Rotherhithe	3
Total this week	4030

From the 15th to the 22nd August —

St. Giles-in-the-Fields	175
Cripplegate	847
Stepney	273
St. Margaret, Bermondsey	36
Rotherhithe	2
Total this week	5319

N.B. — That it was observed the numbers mentioned in Stepney parish at that time were generally all on that side where Stepney parish joined to Shoreditch, which we now call Spitalfields, where the parish of Stepney comes up to the very wall of Shoreditch Churchyard, and the plague at this time was abated at St. Giles-in-the-Fields, and raged most violently in Cripplegate, Bishopsgate, and Shoreditch parishes; but there was not ten people a week that died of it in all that part of Stepney parish which takes in Limehouse, Ratcliff Highway, and which are now the parishes of Shadwell and Wapping, even to St. Catherine's by the Tower, till after the whole month of August was expired. But they paid for it afterwards, as I shall observe by-and-by.

This, I say, made the people of Redriff and Wapping, Ratcliff and Limehouse, so secure, and flatter themselves so much with the plague's going off without reaching them, that they took no care either to fly into the country or shut themselves up. Nay, so far were they from stirring that they rather received their friends and relations from the city into their houses, and several from other places really took

sanctuary in that part of the town as a place of safety, and as a place which they thought God would pass over, and not visit as the rest was visited.

And this was the reason that when it came upon them they were more surprised, more unprovided, and more at a loss what to do than they were in other places; for when it came among them really and with violence, as it did indeed in September and October, there was then no stirring out into the country, nobody would suffer a stranger to come near them, no, nor near the towns where they dwelt; and, as I have been told, several that wandered into the country on Surrey side were found starved to death in the woods and commons, that country being more open and more woody than any other part so near London, especially about Norwood and the parishes of Camberwell, Dulwich, and Lusum, where, it seems, nobody durst relieve the poor distressed people for fear of the infection.

This notion having, as I said, prevailed with the people in that part of the town, was in part the occasion, as I said before, that they had recourse to ships for their retreat; and where they did this early and with prudence, furnishing themselves so with provisions that they had no need to go on shore for supplies or suffer boats to come on board to bring them, — I say, where they did so they had certainly the safest retreat of any people whatsoever; but the distress was such that people ran on board, in their fright, without bread to eat, and some into ships that had no men on board to remove them farther off, or to take the boat and go down the river to buy provisions where it might be done safely, and these often suffered and were infected on board as much as on shore.

As the richer sort got into ships, so the lower rank

got into hoys, smacks, lighters, and fishing-boats; and many, especially watermen, lay in their boats; but those made sad work of it, especially the latter, for, going about for provision, and perhaps to get their subsistence, the infection got in among them and made a fearful havoc; many of the watermen died alone in their wherries as they rid at their roads, as well above bridge as below, and were not found sometimes till they were not in condition for anybody to touch or come near them.

Indeed, the distress of the people at this seafaring end of the town was very deplorable, and deserved the greatest commiseration. But, alas! this was a time when every one's private safety lay so near them that they had no room to pity the distresses of others; for every one had death, as it were, at his door, and many even in their families, and knew not what to do or whither to fly.

This, I say, took away all compassion; self-preservation, indeed, appeared here to be the first law. For the children ran away from their parents as they languished in the utmost distress. And in some places, though not so frequent as the other, parents did the like to their children; nay, some dreadful examples there were, and particularly two in one week, of distressed mothers, raving and distracted, killing their own children; one whereof was not far off from where I dwelt, the poor lunatic creature not living herself long enough to be sensible of the sin of what she had done, much less to be punished for it.

It is not, indeed, to be wondered at, for the danger of immediate death to ourselves took away all bowels of love, all concern for one another. I speak in general, for there were many instances of immovable affection, pity, and duty in many, and some that came to my knowledge, that is to say, by

hearsay; for I shall not take upon me to vouch the truth of the particulars.

To introduce one, let me first mention that one of the most deplorable cases in all the present calamity was that of women with child, who, when they came to the hour of their sorrows and their pains come upon them, could neither have help of one kind or another; neither midwife or neigbouring women to come near them. Most of the midwives were dead, especially of such as served the poor; and many, if not all the midwives of note, were fled into the country; so that it was next to impossible for a poor woman that could not pay an immoderate price to get any midwife to come to her, and if they did, those they could get were generally unskilful and ignorant creatures; and the consequence of this was, that a most unusual and incredible number of women were reduced to the utmost distress. Some were delivered and spoiled by the rashness and ignorance of those who pretended to lay them. Children without number were, I might say, murdered by the same, but a more justifiable ignorance, pretending they would save the mother, whatever became of the child; and many times both mother and child were lost in the same manner; and especially where the mother had the distemper, there nobody would come near them, and both sometimes perished. Sometimes the mother has died of the plague, and the infant, it may be, half born, or born but not parted from the mother. Some died in the very pains of their travail, and not delivered at all; and so many were the cases of this kind that it is hard to judge of them.

Something of it will appear in the unusual numbers which are put into the weekly bills (though I am far from allowing them to be able to give anything of a full account) under the articles of—

Child-bed.
Abortive and Still-born.
Chrisoms and Infants.

Take the weeks in which the plague was most violent, and compare them with the weeks before the distemper began, even in the same year. For example: —

	Child-bed.	Abortive.	Still-born.
From January 3 to January 10 .	7	1	13
" " 10 " 17 .	8	6	11
" " 17 " 24 .	9	5	15
" " 24 " 31 .	3	2	9
" " 31 to February 7 .	3	3	8
" February 7 " 14 .	6	2	11
" " 14 " 21 .	5	2	13
" " 21 " 28 .	2	2	10
" " 28 to March 7 .	5	1	10
	48	24	100
From August 1 to August 8 .	25	5	11
" " 8 " 15 .	23	6	8
" " 15 " 22 .	28	4	4
" " 22 " 29 .	40	6	10
" " 29 to September 5 .	38	2	11
" September 5 to " 12 .	39	23	..
" " 12 " 19 .	42	5	17
" " 19 " 26 .	42	6	10
" " 26 to October 3 .	14	4	9
	291	61	80

To the disparity of these numbers is to be considered and allowed for, that, according to our usual opinion who were then upon the spot, there were not one-third of the people in the town during the months of August and September as were in the months of January and February. In a word, the usual number that used to die of these three

articles, and, as I hear, did die of them the year before, was thus: —

1664.		1665.	
Child-bed	189	Child-bed	625
Abortive and still-born .	458	Abortive and still-born .	617
	647		1242

This inequality, I say, is exceedingly augmented when the numbers of people are considered. I pretend not to make any exact calculation of the numbers of people which were at this time in the city, but I shall make a probable conjecture at that part by-and-by. What I have said now is to explain the misery of those poor creatures above, so that it might well be said, as in the Scripture, Woe be to those who are with child, and to those which give suck in that day. For, indeed, it was a woe to them in particular.

I was not conversant in many particular families where these things happened, but the outcries of the miserable were heard afar off. As to those who were with child, we have seen some calculation made; 291 women dead in child-bed in nine weeks, out of one-third part of the number of whom there usually died in that time but eighty-four of the same disaster. Let the reader calculate the proportion.

There is no room to doubt but the misery of those that gave suck was in proportion as great. Our bills of mortality could give but little light in this, yet some it did. There were several more than usual starved at nurse, but this was nothing. The misery was where they were, first, starved for want of a nurse, the mother dying, and all the family and the infants found dead by them, merely for want; and, if I may speak my opinion, I do believe that many hundreds of poor helpless infants perished in this

manner. Secondly, not starved, but poisoned by the nurse. Nay, even where the mother has been nurse, and having received the infection, has poisoned, that is, infected the infant with her milk, even before they knew they were infected themselves; nay, and the infant has died in such a case before the mother. I cannot but remember to leave this admonition upon record, if ever such another dreadful visitation should happen in this city, that all women that are with child or that give suck should be gone, if they have any possible means, out of the place, because their misery, if infected, will so much exceed all other people's.

I could tell here dismal stories of living infants being found sucking the breasts of their mothers, or nurses, after they have been dead of the plague. Of a mother in the parish where I lived, who, having a child that was not well, sent for an apothecary to view the child; and when he came, as the relation goes, was giving the child suck at her breast, and to all appearance was herself very well; but when the apothecary came close to her he saw the tokens upon that breast with which she was suckling the child. He was surprised enough, to be sure, but, not willing to fright the poor woman too much, he desired she would give the child into his hand; so he takes the child, and going to a cradle in the room, lays it in, and opening its cloths, found the tokens upon the child too, and both died before he could get home to send a preventive medicine to the father of the child, to whom he had told their condition. Whether the child infected the nurse-mother or the mother the child was not certain, but the last most likely. Likewise of a child brought home to the parents from a nurse that had died of the plague, yet the tender mother would not refuse to take in her child, and laid it in her bosom, by which she

was infected, and died with the child in her arms dead also.

It would make the hardest heart move at the instances that were frequently found of tender mothers tending and watching with their dear children, and even dying before them, and sometimes taking the distemper from them and dying, when the child for whom the affectionate heart had been sacrificed has got over it and escaped.

The like of a tradesman in East Smithfield, whose wife was big with child of her first child, and fell in labour, having the plague upon her. He could neither get midwife to assist her or nurse to tend her, and two servants which he kept fled both from her. He ran from house to house like one distracted, but could get no help; the utmost he could get was, that a watchman, who attended at an infected house shut up, promised to send a nurse in the morning. The poor man, with his heart broke, went back, assisted his wife what he could, acted the part of the midwife, brought the child dead into the world, and his wife in about an hour died in his arms, where he held her dead body fast till the morning, when the watchman came and brought the nurse as he had promised; and coming up the stairs, for he had left the door open, or only latched, they found the man sitting with his dead wife in his arms, and so overwhelmed with grief that he died in a few hours after, without any sign of the infection upon him, but merely sank under the weight of his grief.

I have heard also of some who, on the death of their relations, have grown stupid with the insupportable sorrow, and of one in particular, who was so absolutely overcome with the pressure upon his spirits that by degrees his head sank into his body, so between his shoulders, that the crown of his head was very little seen above the bone of his shoulders;

and by degrees, losing both voice and sense, his face, looking forward, lay against his collar-bone, and could not be kept up any otherwise, unless held up by the hands of other people; and the poor man never came to himself again, but languished near a year in that condition, and died. Nor was he ever once seen to lift up his eyes or to look upon any particular object.

I cannot undertake to give any other than a summary of such passages as these, because it was not possible to come at the particulars, where sometimes the whole families where such things happened were carried off by the distemper. But there were innumerable cases of this kind which presented to the eye and the ear, even in passing along the streets, as I have hinted above. Nor is it easy to give any story of this or that family which there was not divers parallel stories to be met with of the same kind.

But as I am now talking of the time when the plague raged at the easternmost part of the town, how for a long time the people of those parts had flattered themselves that they should escape, and how they were surprised when it came upon them as it did; for, indeed, it came upon them like an armed man when it did come; — I say, this brings me back to the three poor men who wandered from Wapping, not knowing whither to go or what to do, and whom I mentioned before; one a biscuit-baker, one a sail-maker, and the other a joiner, all of Wapping or thereabouts.

The sleepiness and security of that part, as I have observed, was such that they not only did not shift for themselves as others did, but they boasted of being safe, and of safety being with them; and many people fled out of the city, and out of the infected suburbs, to Wapping, Ratcliff, Limehouse, Poplar, and such places, as to places of security; and it is

not at all unlikely that their doing this helped to bring the plague that way faster than it might otherwise have come. For though I am much for people flying away, and emptying such a town as this, upon the first appearance of a like visitation, and that all people who have any possible retreat should make use of it in time, and be gone, yet I must say, when all that will fly are gone, those that are left, and must stand it, should stand stock-still where they are, and not shift from one end of the town or one part of the town to the other; for that is the bane and mischief of the whole, and they carry the plague from house to house in their very clothes.

Wherefore were we ordered to kill all the dogs and cats, but because as they were domestic animals, and are apt to run from house to house, and from street to street, so they are capable of carrying the effluvia or infectious steams of bodies infected even in their furs and hair? And therefore it was that, in the beginning of the infection, an order was published by the Lord Mayor, and by the magistrates, according to the advice of the physicians, that all the dogs and cats should be immediately killed, and an officer was appointed for the execution.

It is incredible, if their account is to be depended upon, what a prodigious number of those creatures were destroyed. I think they talked of forty thousand dogs, and five times as many cats, few houses being without a cat, some having several, sometimes five or six in a house. All possible endeavours were used, also, to destroy the mice and rats, especially the latter, by laying ratsbane and other poisons for them, and a prodigious multitude of them were also destroyed.

I often reflected upon the unprovided condition that the whole body of the people were in at the first coming of this calamity upon them, and how it

was for want of timely entering into measures and managements, as well public as private, that all the confusions that followed were brought upon us, and that such a prodigious number of people sank in that disaster, which, if proper steps had been taken, might, Providence concurring, have been avoided, and which, if posterity think fit, they may take a caution and warning from. But I shall come to this part again.

I come back to my three men. Their story has a moral in every part of it, and their whole conduct, and that of some whom they joined with, is a pattern for all poor men to follow, or women either, if ever such a time comes again; and if there was no other end in recording it, I think this a very just one, whether my account be exactly according to fact or no.

Two of them are said to be brothers, the one an old soldier, but now a biscuit-baker; the other a lame sailor, but now a sailmaker; the third a joiner. Says John the biscuit-baker one day to Thomas his brother, the sailmaker, "Brother Tom, what will become of us? The plague grows hot in the city, and increases this way. What shall we do?"

"Truly," says Thomas, "I am at a great loss what to do, for I find if it comes down into Wapping I shall be turned out of my lodging." And thus they began to talk of it beforehand.

John. Turned out of your lodging, Tom! If you are, I don't know who will take you in; for people are so afraid of one another now, there's no getting a lodging anywhere.

Thomas. Why, the people where I lodge are good, civil people, and have kindness enough for me too; but they say I go abroad every day to my work, and it will be dangerous; and they talk of locking themselves up and letting nobody come near them.

John. Why, they are in the right, to be sure, if they resolve to venture staying in town.

Thomas. Nay, I might even resolve to stay within doors too, for, except a suit of sails that my master has in hand, and which I am just finishing, I am like to get no more work a great while. There 's no trade stirs now. Workmen and servants are turned off everywhere, so that I might be glad to be locked up too; but I do not see they will be willing to consent to that, any more than to the other.

John. Why, what will you do then, brother? And what shall I do? for I am almost as bad as you. The people where I lodge are all gone into the country but a maid, and she is to go next week, and to shut the house quite up, so that I shall be turned adrift to the wide world before you, and I am resolved to go away too, if I knew but where to go.

Thomas. We were both distracted we did not go away at first; then we might have travelled anywhere. There 's no stirring now; we shall be starved if we pretend to go out of town. They won't let us have victuals, no, not for our money, nor let us come into the towns, much less into their houses.

John. And that which is almost as bad, I have but little money to help myself with neither.

Thomas. As to that, we might make shift. I have a little, though not much; but I tell you there 's no stirring on the road. I know a couple of poor honest men in our street have attempted to travel, and at Barnet, or Whetstone, or thereabout, the people offered to fire at them if they pretended to go forward, so they are come back again quite discouraged.

John. I would have ventured their fire if I had been there. If I had been denied food for my money they should have seen me take it before their

faces, and if I had tendered money for it they could not have taken any course with me by law.

Thomas. You talk your old soldier's language, as if you were in the Low Countries now, but this is a serious thing. The people have good reason to keep anybody off that they are not satisfied are sound, at such a time as this, and we must not plunder them.

John. No, brother, you mistake the case, and mistake me too. I would plunder nobody; but for any town upon the road to deny me leave to pass through the town in the open highway, and deny me provisions for my money, is to say the town has a right to starve me to death, which cannot be true.

Thomas. But they do not deny you liberty to go back again from whence you came, and therefore they do not starve you.

John. But the next town behind me will, by the same rule, deny me leave to go back, and so they do starve me between them. Besides, there is no law to prohibit my travelling wherever I will on the road.

Thomas. But there will be so much difficulty in disputing with them at every town on the road that it is not for poor men to do it or undertake it, at such a time as this is especially.

John. Why, brother, our condition at this rate is worse than anybody else's, for we can neither go away nor stay here. I am of the same mind with the lepers of Samaria. If we stay here we are sure to die; I mean especially as you and I are stated, without a dwelling-house of our own, and without lodging in anybody else's. There is no lying in the street at such a time as this; we had as good go into the dead-cart at once. Therefore I say, if we stay here we are sure to die, and if we go away we can but die; I am resolved to be gone.

Thomas. You will go away. Whither will you

go, and what can you do? I would as willingly go away as you, if I knew whither. But we have no acquaintance, no friends. Here we were born, and here we must die.

John. Look you, Tom, the whole kingdom is my native country as well as this town. You may as well say I must not go out of my house if it is on fire as that I must not go out of the town I was born in when it is infected with the plague. I was born in England, and have a right to live in it if I can.

Thomas. But you know every vagrant person may, by the laws of England, be taken up, and passed back to their last legal settlement.

John. But how shall they make me vagrant? I desire only to travel on, upon my lawful occasions.

Thomas. What lawful occasions can we pretend to travel, or rather wander upon? They will not be put off with words.

John. Is not flying to save our lives a lawful occasion? And do they not all know that the fact is true? We cannot be said to dissemble.

Thomas. But suppose they let us pass, whither shall we go?

John. Anywhere to save our lives; it is time enough to consider that when we are got out of this town. If I am once out of this dreadful place, I care not where I go.

Thomas. We shall be driven to great extremities. I know not what to think of it.

John. Well, Tom, consider of it a little.

This was about the beginning of July; and though the plague was come forward in the west and north parts of the town, yet all Wapping, as I have observed before, and Redriff, and Ratcliff, and Limehouse, and Poplar, in short, Deptford and Greenwich, all both sides of the river from the Hermitage,

and from over against it, quite down to Blackwall, was entirely free; there had not one person died of the plague in all Stepney parish, and not one on the south side of Whitechapel Road, no, not in any parish; and yet the weekly bill was that very week risen up to 1006.

It was a fortnight after this before the two brothers met again, and then the case was a little altered, and the plague was exceedingly advanced and the number greatly increased; the bill was up at 2785, and prodigiously increasing, though still both sides of the river, as below, kept pretty well. But some began to die in Redriff, and about five or six in Ratcliff Highway, when the sailmaker came to his brother John express, and in some fright; for he was absolutely warned out of his lodging, and had only a week to provide himself. His brother John was in as bad a case, for he was quite out, and had only begged leave of his master, the biscuit-baker, to lodge in an out-house belonging to his work-house, where he only lay upon straw, with some biscuit-sacks, or bread-sacks, as they called them, laid upon it, and some of the same sacks to cover him.

Here they resolved, seeing all employment being at an end, and no work or wages to be had, they would make the best of their way to get out of the reach of the dreadful infection, and, being as good husbands as they could, would endeavour to live upon what they had as long as it would last, and then work for more, if they could get work anywhere, of any kind, let it be what it would.

While they were considering to put this resolution in practice in the best manner they could, the third man, who was acquainted very well with the sailmaker, came to know of the design, and got leave to be one of the number; and thus they prepared to set out.

It happened that they had not an equal share of money, but as the sailmaker, who had the best stock, was, besides his being lame, the most unfit to expect to get anything by working in the country, so he was content that what money they had should all go into one public stock, on condition that whatever any one of them could gain more than another, it should, without any grudging, be all added to the public stock.

They resolved to load themselves with as little baggage as possible, because they resolved at first to travel on foot, and to go a great way, that they might, if possible, be effectually safe; and a great many consultations they had with themselves before they could agree about what way they should travel, which they were so far from adjusting that even to the morning they set out they were not resolved on it.

At last the seaman put in a hint that determined it. "First," says he, "the weather is very hot, and therefore I am for travelling north, that we may not have the sun upon our faces and beating on our breasts, which will heat and suffocate us; and I have been told," says he, "that it is not good to overheat our blood at a time when, for aught we know, the infection may be in the very air. In the next place," says he, "I am for going the way that may be contrary to the wind, as it may blow when we set out, that we may not have the wind blow the air of the city on our backs as we go." These two cautions were approved of, if it could be brought so to hit that the wind might not be in the south when they set out to go north.

John the baker, who had been a soldier, then put in his opinion. "First," says he, "we none of us expect to get any lodging on the road, and it will be a little too hard to lie just in the open air.

Though it be warm weather, yet it may be wet and damp, and we have a double reason to take care of our healths at such a time as this ; and therefore," says he, "you, brother Tom, that are a sailmaker, might easily make us a little tent, and I will undertake to set it up every night, and take it down, and a fig for all the inns in England ; if we have a good tent over our heads we shall do well enough."

The joiner opposed this, and told them, let them leave that to him ; he would undertake to build them a house every night with his hatchet and mallet, though he had no other tools, which should be fully to their satisfaction, and as good as a tent.

The soldier and the joiner disputed that point some time, but at last the soldier carried it for a tent. The only objection against it was, that it must be carried with them, and that would increase their baggage too much, the weather being hot ; but the sailmaker had a piece of good hap fell in which made that easy, for his master whom he worked for, having a rope-walk as well as sailmaking trade, had a little, poor horse that he made no use of then, and being willing to assist the three honest men, he gave them the horse for the carrying their baggage ; also for a small matter of three days' work that his man did for him before he went, he let him have an old top-gallant sail that was worn out, but was sufficient and more than enough to make a very good tent. The soldier showed how to shape it, and they soon by his direction made their tent, and fitted it with poles or staves for the purpose ; and thus they were furnished for their journey, viz., three men, one tent, one horse, one gun, for the soldier would not go without arms, for now he said he was no more a biscuit-baker, but a trooper.

The joiner had a small bag of tools, such as might be useful if he should get any work abroad, as well

for their subsistence as his own. What money they had they brought all into one public stock, and thus they began their journey. It seems that in the morning when they set out the wind blew, as the sailor said, by his pocket-compass, at N.W. by W. So they directed, or rather resolved to direct, their course N.W.

But then a difficulty came in their way, that, as they set out from the hither end of Wapping, near the Hermitage, and that the plague was now very violent, especially on the north side of the city, as in Shoreditch and Cripplegate parish, they did not think it safe for them to go near those parts; so they went away east through Ratcliff Highway as far as Ratcliff Cross, and leaving Stepney Church still on their left hand, being afraid to come up from Ratcliff Cross to Mile End, because they must come just by the churchyard, and because the wind, that seemed to blow more from the west, blew directly from the side of the city where the plague was hottest. So I say, leaving Stepney, they fetched a long compass, and going to Poplar and Bromley, came into the great road just at Bow.

Here the watch placed upon Bow Bridge would have questioned them, but they, crossing the road into a narrow way that turns out of the hither end of the town of Bow to Old Ford, avoided any inquiry there, and travelled to Old Ford. The constables everywhere were upon their guard, not so much, it seems, to stop people passing by as to stop them from taking up their abode in their towns, and withal because of a report that was newly raised at that time, and that, indeed, was not very improbable, viz., that the poor people in London, being distressed and starved for want of work, and by that means for want of bread, were up in arms and had raised a tumult, and that they would come out to all the

towns round to plunder for bread. This, I say, was only a rumour, and it was very well it was no more. But it was not so far off from being a reality as it has been thought, for in a few weeks more the poor people became so desperate by the calamity they suffered that they were with great difficulty kept from running out into the fields and towns, and tearing all in pieces wherever they came; and, as I have observed before, nothing hindered them but that the plague raged so violently, and fell in upon them so furiously, that they rather went to the grave by thousands than into the fields in mobs by thousands; for, in the parts about the parishes of St. Sepulchre, Clerkenwell, Cripplegate, Bishopsgate, and Shoreditch, which were the places where the mob began to threaten, the distemper came on so furiously that there died in those few parishes even then, before the plague was come to its height, no less than 5361 people in the first three weeks in August, when, at the same time, the parts about Wapping, Ratcliff, and Rotherhithe were, as before described, hardly touched, or but very lightly; so that, in a word, though, as I said before, the good management of the Lord Mayor and justices did much to prevent the rage and desperation of the people from breaking out in rabbles and tumults, and, in short, from the poor plundering the rich, — I say, though they did much, the dead-carts did more, for as I have said that in five parishes only there died about 5000 in twenty days, so there might be probably three times that number sick all that time, for some recovered, and great numbers fell sick every day and died afterwards. Besides, I must still be allowed to say that if the bills of mortality said five thousand, I always believed it was near twice as many in reality, there being no room to believe that the account they gave was right, or that, indeed, they were, among

such confusions as I saw them in, in any condition to keep an exact account.

But to return to my travellers. Here they were only examined, and as they seemed rather coming from the country than from the city, they found the people the easier with them; that they talked to them, let them come into a public-house where the constable and his warders were, and gave them drink and some victuals, which greatly refreshed and encouraged them; and here it came into their heads to say, when they should be inquired of afterwards, not that they came from London, but that they came out of Essex.

To forward this little fraud, they obtained so much favour of the constable at Old Ford as to give them a certificate of their passing from Essex through that village, and that they had not been at London, which, though false in the common acceptation of London in the county, yet was literally true, Wapping or Ratcliff being no part either of the city or liberty.

This certificate directed to the next constable that was at Homerton, one of the hamlets of the parish of Hackney, was so serviceable to them that it procured them, not a free passage there only, but a full certificate of health from a justice of the peace, who, upon the constable's application, granted it without much difficulty; and thus they passed through the long divided town of Hackney (for it lay then in several separated hamlets), and travelled on till they came into the great north road on the top of Stamford Hill.

By this time they began to be weary, and so in the back-road from Hackney, a little before it opened into the said great road, they resolved to set up their tent and encamp for the first night, which they did accordingly, with this addition, that finding a

barn, or a building like a barn, and first searching as well as they could to be sure there was nobody in it, they set up their tent, with the head of it against the barn. This they did also because the wind blew that night very high, and they were but young at such a way of lodging, as well as at the managing their tent.

Here they went to sleep; but the joiner, a grave and sober man, and not pleased with their lying at this loose rate the first night, could not sleep, and resolved, after trying to sleep to no purpose, that he would get out, and, taking the gun in his hand, stand sentinel and guard his companions. So, with the gun in his hand, he walked to and again before the barn, for that stood in the field near the road, but within the hedge. He had not been long upon the scout but he heard a noise of people coming on, as if it had been a great number, and they came on, as he thought, directly towards the barn. He did not presently awake his companions, but in a few minutes more, their noise growing louder and louder, the biscuit-baker called to him and asked him what was the matter, and quickly started out too. The other, being the lame sailmaker and most weary, lay still in the tent.

As they expected, so the people whom they had heard came on directly to the barn, when one of our travellers challenged, like soldiers upon the guard, with "Who comes there?" The people did not answer immediately, but one of them speaking to another that was behind him, "Alas! alas! we are all disappointed," says he. "Here are some people before us; the barn is taken up."

They all stopped upon that, as under some surprise, and it seems there was about thirteen of them in all, and some women among them. They consulted together what they should do, and by their

discourse our travellers soon found they were poor, distressed people too, like themselves, seeking shelter and safety; and besides, our travellers had no need to be afraid of their coming up to disturb them, for as soon as they heard the words, "Who comes there?" these could hear the women say, as if frighted, "Do not go near them. How do you know but they may have the plague?" And when one of the men said, "Let us but speak to them," the women said, "No, don't by any means. We have escaped thus far by the goodness of God; do not let us run into danger now, we beseech you."

Our travellers found by this that they were a good, sober sort of people, and flying for their lives, as they were; and, as they were encouraged by it, so John said to the joiner, his comrade, "Let us encourage them too as much as we can;" so he called to them, "Hark ye, good people," says the joiner, "we find by your talk that you are flying from the same dreadful enemy as we are. Do not be afraid of us; we are only three poor men of us. If you are free from the distemper you shall not be hurt by us. We are not in the barn, but in a little tent here in the outside, and we will remove for you; we can set up our tent again immediately anywhere else;" and upon this a parley began between the joiner, whose name was Richard, and one of their men, who said his name was Ford.

Ford. And do you assure us that you are all sound men?

Richard. Nay, we are concerned to tell you of it, that you may not be uneasy or think yourselves in danger; but you see we do not desire you should put yourselves into any danger, and therefore I tell you that we have not made use of the barn, so we will remove from it, that you may be safe and we also.

Ford. That is very kind and charitable; but if we have reason to be satisfied that you are sound and free from the visitation, why should we make you remove now you are settled in your lodging, and, it may be, are laid down to rest? We will go into the barn, if you please, to rest ourselves a while, and we need not disturb you.

Richard. Well, but you are more than we are. I hope you will assure us that you are all of you sound too, for the danger is as great from you to us as from us to you.

Ford. Blessed be God that some do escape, though it is but few; what may be our portion still we know not, but hitherto we are preserved.

Richard. What part of the town do you come from? Was the plague come to the places where you lived?

Ford. Ay, ay, in a most frightful and terrible manner, or else we had not fled away as we do; but we believe there will be very few left alive behind us.

Richard. What part do you come from?

Ford. We are most of us of Cripplegate parish, only two or three of Clerkenwell parish, but on the hither side.

Richard. How then was it that you came away no sooner?

Ford. We have been away some time, and kept together as well as we could at the hither end of Islington, where we got leave to lie in an old uninhabited house, and had some bedding and conveniences of our own that we brought with us; but the plague is come up into Islington too, and a house next door to our poor dwelling was infected and shut up, and we are come away in a fright.

Richard. And what way are you going?

Ford. As our lot shall cast us; we know not

whither, but God will guide those that look up to Him.

They parleyed no further at that time, but came all up to the barn, and with some difficulty got into it. There was nothing but hay in the barn, but it was almost full of that, and they accommodated themselves as well as they could, and went to rest; but our travellers observed that before they went to sleep an ancient man, who, it seems, was father of one of the women, went to prayer with all the company, recommending themselves to the blessing and direction of Providence, before they went to sleep.

It was soon day at that time of the year, and as Richard the joiner had kept guard the first part of the night, so John the soldier relieved him, and he had the post in the morning, and they began to be acquainted with one another. It seems when they left Islington they intended to have gone north, away to Highgate, but were stopped at Holloway, and there they would not let them pass; so they crossed over the fields and hills to the eastward, and came out at the Boarded River, and so avoiding the towns, they left Hornsey on the left hand and Newington on the right hand, and came into the great road about Stamford Hill on that side, as the three travellers had done on the other side. And now they had thoughts of going over the river in the marshes, and make forwards to Epping Forest, where they hoped they should get leave to rest. It seems they were not poor, at least not so poor as to be in want; at least they had enough to subsist them moderately for two or three months, when, as they said, they were in hopes the cold weather would check the infection, or at least the violence of it would have spent itself, and would abate, if it were only for want of people left alive to be infected.

This was much the fate of our three travellers, only that they seemed to be the better furnished for travelling, and had it in their view to go farther off; for as to the first, they did not propose to go farther than one day's journey, that so they might have intelligence every two or three days how things were at London.

But here our travellers found themselves under an unexpected inconvenience, namely, that of their horse, for by means of the horse to carry their baggage they were obliged to keep in the road, whereas the people of this other band went over the fields or roads, path or no path, way or no way, as they pleased; neither had they any occasion to pass through any town, or come near any town, other than to buy such things as they wanted for their necessary subsistence, and in that indeed they were put to much difficulty; of which in its place.

But our three travellers were obliged to keep the road, or else they must commit spoil, and do the country a great deal of damage in breaking down fences and gates to go over enclosed fields, which they were loath to do if they could help it.

Our three travellers, however, had a great mind to join themselves to this company and take their lot with them; and after some discourse they laid aside their first design which looked northward, and resolved to follow the other into Essex; so in the morning they took up their tent and loaded their horse, and away they travelled all together.

They had some difficulty in passing the ferry at the river-side, the ferryman being afraid of them; but after some parley at a distance, the ferryman was content to bring his boat to a place distant from the usual ferry, and leave it there for them to take it; so putting themselves over, he directed them to leave the boat, and he, having another boat, said he

would fetch it again, which it seems, however, he did not do for above eight days.

Here giving the ferryman money beforehand, they had a supply of victuals and drink, which he brought and left in the boat for them, but not without, as I said, having received the money beforehand. But now our travellers were at a great loss and difficulty how to get the horse over, the boat being small and not fit for it, and at last could not do it without unloading the baggage and making him swim over.

From the river they travelled towards the forest, but when they came to Walthamstow the people of that town denied to admit them, as was the case everywhere. The constables and their watchmen kept them off at a distance and parleyed with them. They gave the same account of themselves as before, but these gave no credit to what they said, giving it for a reason that two or three companies had already come that way and made the like pretences, but that they had given several people the distemper in the towns where they had passed, and had been afterwards so hardly used by the country, though with justice too, as they had deserved, that about Brentwood, or that way, several of them perished in the fields, whether of the plague or of mere want and distress they could not tell.

This was a good reason indeed why the people of Walthamstow should be very cautious, and why they should resolve not to entertain anybody that they were not well satisfied of. But, as Richard the joiner and one of the other men who parleyed with them told them, it was no reason why they should block up the roads and refuse to let people pass through the town, and who asked nothing of them but to go through the street; that if their people were afraid of them, they might go into their houses and shut

their doors; they would neither show them civility nor incivility, but go on about their business.

The constables and attendants, not to be persuaded by reason, continued obstinate, and would hearken to nothing, so the two men that talked with them went back to their fellows to consult what was to be done. It was very discouraging in the whole, and they knew not what to do for a good while; but at last John the soldier and biscuit-baker, considering a while, "Come," says he, "leave the rest of the parley to me." He had not appeared yet, so he sets the joiner, Richard, to work to cut some poles out of the trees and shape them as like guns as he could, and in a little time he had five or six fair muskets, which at a distance would not be known; and about the part where the lock of a gun is he caused them to wrap cloth and rags such as they had, as soldiers do in wet weather to preserve the locks of their pieces from rust; the rest was discoloured with clay or mud, such as they could get; and all this while the rest of them sat under the trees by his direction, in two or three bodies, where they made fires at a good distance from one another.

While this was doing he advanced himself and two or three with him, and set up their tent in the lane within sight of the barrier which the town's men had made, and set a sentinel just by it with the real gun, the only one they had, and who walked to and fro with the gun on his shoulder, so as that the people of the town might see them. Also, he tied the horse to a gate in the hedge just by, and got some dry sticks together and kindled a fire on the other side of the tent, so that the people of the town could see the fire and the smoke, but could not see what they were doing at it.

After the country people had looked upon them very earnestly a great while, and, by all that they

could see, could not but suppose that they were a great many in company, they began to be uneasy, not for their going away, but for staying where they were; and above all, perceiving they had horses and arms, for they had seen one horse and one gun at the tent, and they had seen others of them walk about the field on the inside of the hedge by the side of the lane with their muskets, as they took them to be, shouldered; I say, upon such a sight as this, you may be assured they were alarmed and terribly frighted, and it seems they went to a justice of the peace to know what they should do. What the justice advised them to I know not, but towards the evening they called from the barrier, as above, to the sentinel at the tent.

"What do you want?" says John.[1]

"Why, what do you intend to do?" says the constable.

"To do," says John; "what would you have us to do?"

Constable. Why don't you be gone? What do you stay there for?

John. Why do you stop us on the king's highway, and pretend to refuse us leave to go on our way?

Constable. We are not bound to tell you our reason, though we did let you know it was because of the plague.

John. We told you we were all sound and free from the plague, which we were not bound to have satisfied you of, and yet you pretend to stop us on the highway.

Constable. We have a right to stop it up, and our own safety obliges us to it. Besides, this is not the

[1] It seems John was in the tent, but hearing them call, he steps out, and taking the gun upon his shoulder, talked to them as if he had been the sentinel placed there upon the guard by some officer that was his superior.

king's highway; 't is a way upon sufferance. You see here is a gate, and if we do let people pass here, we make them pay toll.

John. We have a right to seek our own safety as well as you, and you may see we are flying for our lives, and 't is very unchristian and unjust to stop us.

Constable. You may go back from whence you came; we do not hinder you from that.

John. No; it is a stronger enemy than you that keeps us from doing that, or else we should not have come hither.

Constable. Well, you may go any other way, then.

John. No, no; I suppose you see we are able to send you going, and all the people of your parish, and come through your town when we will; but since you have stopped us here, we are content. You see we have encamped here, and here we will live. We hope you will furnish us with victuals.

Constable. We furnish you! What mean you by that?

John. Why, you would not have us starve, would you? If you stop us here, you must keep us.

Constable. You will be ill kept at our maintenance.

John. If you stint us, we shall make ourselves the better allowance.

Constable. Why, you will not pretend to quarter upon us by force, will you?

John. We have offered no violence to you yet. Why do you seem to oblige us to it? I am an old soldier, and cannot starve, and if you think that we shall be obliged to go back for want of provisions, you are mistaken.

Constable. Since you threaten us, we shall take care to be strong enough for you. I have orders to raise the county upon you.

John. It is you that threaten, not we. And since you are for mischief, you cannot blame us if we do not give you time for it; we shall begin our march in a few minutes.[1]

Constable. What is it you demand of us?

John. At first we desired nothing of you but leave to go through the town; we should have offered no injury to any of you, neither would you have had any injury or loss by us. We are not thieves, but poor people in distress, and flying from the dreadful plague in London, which devours thousands every week. We wonder how you could be so unmerciful!

Constable. Self-preservation obliges us.

John. What! To shut up your compassion in a case of such distress as this?

Constable. Well, if you will pass over the fields on your left hand, and behind that part of the town, I will endeavour to have gates opened for you.

John. Our horsemen[2] cannot pass with our baggage that way; it does not lead into the road that we want to go, and why should you force us out of the road? Besides, you have kept us here all day without any provisions but such as we brought with us. I think you ought to send us some provisions for our relief.

Constable. If you will go another way we will send you some provisions.

John. That is the way to have all the towns in the county stop up the ways against us.

Constable. If they all furnish you with food, what will you be the worse? I see you have tents; you want no lodging.

[1] This frighted the constable and the people that were with him, that they immediately changed their note.

[2] They had but one horse among them.

John. Well, what quantity of provisions will you send us?

Constable. How many are you?

John. Nay, we do not ask enough for all our company; we are in three companies. If you will send us bread for twenty men and about six or seven women for three days, and show us the way over the field you speak of, we desire not to put your people into any fear for us; we will go out of our way to oblige you, though we are as free from infection as you are.[1]

Constable. And will you assure us that your other people shall offer us no new disturbance?

John. No, no, you may depend on it.

Constable. You must oblige yourself, too, that none of your people shall come a step nearer than where the provisions we send you shall be set down.

John. I answer for it we will not.

Accordingly they sent to the place twenty loaves of bread and three or four large pieces of good beef, and opened some gates, through which they passed; but none of them had courage so much as to look out to see them go, and, as it was evening, if they had looked they could not have seen them so as to know how few they were.

This was John the soldier's management. But this gave such an alarm to the county, that had they really been two or three hundred the whole county would have been raised upon them, and they would have been sent to prison, or perhaps knocked on the head.

They were soon made sensible of this, for two days afterwards they found several parties of horsemen

[1] Here he called to one of his men, and bade him order Captain Richard and his people to march the lower way on the side of the marches, and meet them in the forest; which was all a sham, for they had no Captain Richard, or any such company.

and footmen also about, in pursuit of three companies of men, armed, as they said, with muskets, who were broke out from London, and had the plague upon them, and that were not only spreading the distemper among the people, but plundering the country.

As they saw now the consequence of their case, they soon saw the danger they were in, so they resolved, by the advice also of the old soldier, to divide themselves again. John and his two comrades, with the horse, went away as if towards Waltham; the other in two companies, but all a little asunder, and went towards Epping.

The first night they encamped all in the forest, and not far off of one another, but not setting up the tent, lest that should discover them. On the other hand, Richard went to work with his axe and his hatchet, and cutting down branches of trees, he built three tents or hovels, in which they all encamped with as much convenience as they could expect.

The provisions they had at Walthamstow served them very plentifully this night; and as for the next, they left it to Providence. They had fared so well with the old soldier's conduct that they now willingly made him their leader, and the first of his conduct appeared to be very good. He told them that they were now at a proper distance enough from London; that as they need not be immediately beholden to the country for relief, so they ought to be as careful the country did not infect them as that they did not infect the country; that what little money they had, they must be as frugal of as they could; that as he would not have them think of offering the country any violence, so they must endeavour to make the sense of their condition go as far with the country as it could. They all referred

themselves to his direction, so they left their three houses standing, and the next day went away towards Epping. The captain also, for so they now called him, and his two fellow-travellers laid aside their design of going to Waltham, and all went together.

When they came near Epping they halted, choosing out a proper place in the open forest, not very near the highway, but not far out of it on the north side, under a little cluster of low pollard-trees. Here they pitched their little camp, which consisted of three large tents or huts made of poles, which their carpenter, and such as were his assistants, cut down and fixed in the ground in a circle, binding all the small ends together at the top, and thickening the sides with boughs of trees and bushes, so that they were completely close and warm. They had, besides this, a little tent, where the women lay by themselves, and a hut to put the horse in.

It happened that the next day, or next but one, was market-day at Epping, when Captain John and one of the other men went to market and bought some provisions; that is to say, bread, and some mutton and beef; and two of the women went separately, as if they had not belonged to the rest, and bought more. John took the horse to bring it home, and the sack which the carpenter carried his tools in to put it in. The carpenter went to work and made them benches and stools to sit on, such as the wood he could get would afford, and a kind of table to dine on.

They were taken no notice of for two or three days, but after that abundance of people ran out of the town to look at them, and all the country was alarmed about them. The people at first seemed afraid to come near them; and, on the other hand, they desired the people to keep off, for there was a rumour that the plague was at Waltham, and that it

had been in Epping two or three days; so John called out to them not to come to them, "for," says he, "we are all whole and sound people here, and we would not have you bring the plague among us, nor pretend we brought it among you."

After this the parish officers came up to them and parleyed with them at a distance, and desired to know who they were, and by what authority they pretended to fix their stand at that place. John answered very frankly, they were poor distressed people from London, who, foreseeing the misery they should be reduced to if the plague spread into the city, had fled out in time for their lives, and, having no acquaintance or relations to fly to, had first taken up at Islington, but, the plague being come into that town, were fled farther; and as they supposed that the people of Epping might have refused them coming into their town, they had pitched their tents thus in the open field and in the forest, being willing to bear all the hardships of such a disconsolate lodging rather than have any one think or be afraid that they should receive injury by them.

At first the Epping people talked roughly to them, and told them they must remove; that this was no place for them; and that they pretended to be sound and well, but that they might be infected with the plague for aught they knew, and might infect the whole country, and they could not suffer them there.

John argued very calmly with them a great while, and told them that London was the place by which they, that is, the townsmen of Epping and all the country round them, subsisted; to whom they sold the produce of their lands, and out of whom they made their rent of their farms; and to be so cruel to the inhabitants of London, or to any of those by whom they gained so much, was very hard, and they

would be loth to have it remembered hereafter, and have it told how barbarous, how inhospitable, and how unkind they were to the people of London when they fled from the face of the most terrible enemy in the world; that it would be enough to make the name of an Epping man hateful through all the city, and to have the rabble stone them in the very streets whenever they came so much as to market; that they were not yet secure from being visited themselves, and that, as he heard, Waltham was already; that they would think it very hard that when any of them fled for fear before they were touched, they should be denied the liberty of lying so much as in the open fields.

The Epping men told them again that they, indeed, said they were sound and free from the infection, but that they had no assurance of it; and that it was reported that there had been a great rabble of people at Walthamstow, who made such pretences of being sound as they did, but that they threatened to plunder the town and force their way, whether the parish officers would or no; that there were near two hundred of them, and had arms and tents like Low Country soldiers; that they extorted provisions from the town, by threatening them with living upon them at free quarter, showing their arms, and talking in the language of soldiers; and that several of them being gone away towards Romford and Brentwood, the country had been infected by them, and the plague spread into both those large towns, so that the people durst not go to market there as usual; that it was very likely they were some of that party; and if so, they deserved to be sent to the county jail, and be secured till they had made satisfaction for the damage they had done, and for the terror and fright they had put the country into.

John answered that what other people had done was nothing to them; that they assured them they were all of one company; that they had never been more in number than they saw them at that time (which, by the way, was very true); that they came out in two separate companies, but joined by the way, their cases being the same; that they were ready to give what account of themselves anybody could desire of them and to give in their names and places of abode, that so they might be called to an account for any disorder that they might be guilty of; that the townsmen might see they were content to live hardly, and only desired a little room to breathe in on the forest where it was wholesome; for where it was not they could not stay, and would decamp if they found it otherwise there.

"But," said the townsmen, "we have a great charge of poor upon our hands already, and we must take care not to increase it; we suppose you can give us no security against your being chargeable to our parish and to the inhabitants, any more than you can of being dangerous to us as to the infection."

"Why, look you," says John, "as to being chargeable to you, we hope we shall not. If you will relieve us with provisions for our present necessity, we will be very thankful; as we all lived without charity when we were at home, so we will oblige ourselves fully to repay you, if God please to bring us back to our own families and houses in safety, and to restore health to the people of London.

"As to our dying here, we assure you, if any of us die, we that survive will bury them, and put you to no expense, except it should be that we should all die, and then, indeed, the last man not being able to bury himself, would put you to that single expense, which, I am persuaded," says John, "he would leave enough behind him to pay you for the expense of.

"On the other hand," says John, "if you will shut up all bowels of compassion, and not relieve us at all, we shall not extort anything by violence or steal from any one; but when what little we have is spent, if we perish for want, God's will be done."

John wrought so upon the townsmen, by talking thus rationally and smoothly to them, that they went away; and though they did not give any consent to their staying there, yet they did not molest them; and the poor people continued there three or four days longer without any disturbance. In this time they had got some remote acquaintance with a victualling-house at the outskirts of the town, to whom they called at a distance to bring some little things that they wanted, and which they caused to be set down at a distance, and always paid for very honestly.

During this time the younger people of the town came frequently pretty near them, and would stand and look at them, and sometimes talk with them at some space between; and particularly it was observed that the first Sabbath-day the poor people kept retired, worshipped God together, and were heard to sing psalms.

These things, and a quiet, inoffensive behaviour, began to get them the good opinion of the country, and people began to pity them and speak very well of them; the consequence of which was, that upon the occasion of a very wet, rainy night, a certain gentleman who lived in the neighbourhood sent them a little cart with twelve trusses or bundles of straw, as well for them to lodge upon as to cover and thatch their huts and to keep them dry. The minister of a parish not far off, not knowing of the other, sent them also about two bushels of wheat and half a bushel of white peas.

They were very thankful, to be sure, for this relief, and particularly the straw was a very great comfort

to them; for though the ingenious carpenter had made frames for them to lie in like troughs, and filled them with leaves of trees, and such things as they could get, and had cut all their tent-cloth out to make them coverlids, yet they lay damp, and hard, and unwholesome till this straw came, which was to them like feather-beds, and, as John said, more welcome than feather-beds would have been at another time.

This gentleman and the minister having thus begun, and given an example of charity to these wanderers, others quickly followed, and they received every day some benevolence or other from the people, but chiefly from the gentlemen who dwelt in the country round about. Some sent them chairs, stools, tables, and such household things as they gave notice they wanted; some sent them blankets, rugs, and coverlids, some earthenware, and some kitchen ware for ordering their food.

Encouraged by this good usage, their carpenter in a few days built them a large shed or house with rafters, and a roof in form, and an upper floor, in which they lodged warm, for the weather began to be damp and cold in the beginning of September. But this house, being very well thatched, and the sides and roof made very thick, kept out the cold well enough. He made, also, an earthen wall at one end with a chimney in it, and another of the company, with a vast deal of trouble and pains, made a funnel to the chimney to carry out the smoke.

Here they lived comfortably, though coarsely, till the beginning of September, when they had the bad news to hear, whether true or not, that the plague, which was very hot at Waltham Abbey on one side, and at Romford and Brentwood on the other side, was also come to Epping, to Woodford, and to most of the towns upon the Forest, and which, as they

said, was brought down among them chiefly by the higglers, and such people as went to and from London with provisions.

If this was true, it was an evident contradiction to that report which was afterwards spread all over England, but which, as I have said, I cannot confirm of my own knowledge, namely, that the market-people carrying provisions to the city never got the infection, or carried it back into the country, both which, I have been assured, has been false.

It might be that they were preserved even beyond expectation, though not to a miracle, that abundance went and came and were not touched, and that was much for the encouragement of the poor people of London, who had been completely miserable if the people that brought provisions to the markets had not been many times wonderfully preserved, or at least more preserved than could be reasonably expected.

But now these new inmates began to be disturbed more effectually, for the towns about them were really infected, and they began to be afraid to trust one another so much as to go abroad for such things as they wanted, and this pinched them very hard, for now they had little or nothing but what the charitable gentlemen of the country supplied them with. But, for their encouragement, it happened that other gentlemen in the country, who had not sent them anything before, began to hear of them and supply them, and one sent them a large pig, that is to say, a porker, another two sheep, and another sent them a calf. In short, they had meat enough, and sometimes had cheese and milk, and all such things. They were chiefly put to it for bread, for when the gentlemen sent them corn they had nowhere to bake it or to grind it. This made them eat the first two bushel of wheat that was sent them

in parched corn, as the Israelites of old did, without grinding or making bread of it.

At last they found means to carry their corn to a windmill near Woodford, where they had it ground, and afterwards the biscuit-baker made a hearth so hollow and dry that he could bake biscuit-cakes tolerably well; and thus they came into a condition to live without any assistance or supplies from the towns; and it was well they did, for the country was soon after fully infected, and about 120 were said to have died of the distemper in the villages near them, which was a terrible thing to them.

On this they called a new council, and now the towns had no need to be afraid they should settle near them; but, on the contrary, several families of the poorer sort of the inhabitants quitted their houses and built huts in the forest after the same manner as they had done. But it was observed that several of these poor people that had so removed had the sickness even in their huts or booths; the reason of which was plain, namely, not because they removed into the air, but, (1) because they did not remove time enough; that is to say, not till, by openly conversing with the other people their neighbours, they had the distemper upon them, or (as may be said) among them, and so carried it about them whither they went. Or (2) because they were not careful enough, after they were safely removed out of the towns, not to come in again and mingle with the diseased people.

But be it which of these it will, when our travellers began to perceive that the plague was not only in the towns, but even in the tents and huts on the forest near them, they began then not only to be afraid, but to think of decamping and removing; for had they stayed they would have been in manifest danger of their lives.

It is not to be wondered that they were greatly afflicted at being obliged to quit the place where they had been so kindly received, and where they had been treated with so much humanity and charity; but necessity and the hazard of life, which they came out so far to preserve, prevailed with them, and they saw no remedy. John, however, thought of a remedy for their present misfortune, namely, that he would first acquaint that gentleman who was their principal benefactor with the distress they were in, and to crave his assistance and advice.

The good, charitable gentleman encouraged them to quit the place, for fear they should be cut off from any retreat at all by the violence of the distemper; but whither they should go, that he found very hard to direct them to. At last John asked of him whether he, being a justice of the peace, would give them certificates of health to other justices whom they might come before, that so, whatever might be their lot, they might not be repulsed now they had been also so long from London. This his worship immediately granted, and gave them proper letters of health, and from thence they were at liberty to travel whither they pleased.

Accordingly they had a full certificate of health, intimating that they had resided in a village in the county of Essex so long that, being examined and scrutinised sufficiently, and having been retired from all conversation for above forty days, without any appearance of sickness, they were therefore certainly concluded to be sound men, and might be safely entertained anywhere, having at last removed rather for fear of the plague, which was come into such a town, rather than for having any signal of infection upon them, or upon any belonging to them.

With this certificate they removed, though with great reluctance; and John inclining not to go far

from home, they moved towards the marshes on the side of Waltham. But here they found a man who, it seems, kept a weir or stop upon the river, made to raise the water for the barges which go up and down the river, and he terrified them with dismal stories of the sickness having been spread into all the towns on the river, and near the river, on the side of Middlesex and Hertfordshire; that is to say, into Waltham, Waltham Cross, Enfield, and Ware, and all the towns on the road, that they were afraid to go that way, though it seems the man imposed upon them, for that the thing was not really true.

However, it terrified them, and they resolved to move across the forest towards Romford and Brentwood; but they heard that there were numbers of people fled out of London that way, who lay up and down in the forest called Hainault Forest, reaching near Romford, and who, having no subsistence or habitation, not only lived oddly and suffered great extremities in the woods and fields for want of relief, but were said to be made so desperate by those extremities as that they offered many violences to the county, robbed and plundered, and killed cattle, and the like; that others, building huts and hovels by the roadside, begged, and that with an importunity next door to demanding relief; so that the county was very uneasy, and had been obliged to take some of them up.

This, in the first place, intimated to them that they would be sure to find the charity and kindness of the county, which they had found here where they were before, hardened and shut up against them; and that, on the other hand, they would be questioned wherever they came, and would be in danger of violence from others in like cases as themselves.

Upon all these considerations John, their captain, in all their names, went back to their good friend

and benefactor, who had relieved them before, and laying their case truly before him, humbly asked his advice; and he as kindly advised them to take up their old quarters again, or if not, to remove but a little farther out of the road, and directed them to a proper place for them; and as they really wanted some house rather than huts to shelter them at that time of the year, it growing on towards Michaelmas, they found an old decayed house, which had been formerly some cottage or little habitation, but was so out of repair as scarce habitable, and by the consent of a farmer to whose farm it belonged, they got leave to make what use of it they could.

The ingenious joiner and all the rest, by his directions, went to work with it, and in a very few days made it capable to shelter them all in case of bad weather, and in which there was an old chimney and an old oven, though both lying in ruins; yet they made them both fit for use, and raising additions, sheds, and lean-tos on every side, they soon made the house capable to hold them all.

They chiefly wanted boards to make window-shutters, floors, doors, and several other things; but as the gentlemen above favoured them, and the country was by that means made easy with them, and, above all, that they were known to be all sound and in good health, everybody helped them with what they could spare.

Here they encamped for good and all, and resolved to remove no more. They saw plainly how terribly alarmed that county was everywhere at anybody that came from London, and that they should have no admittance anywhere but with the utmost difficulty, at least no friendly reception and assistance, as they had received here.

Now, although they received great assistance and

encouragement from the country gentlemen and from the people round about them, yet they were put to great straits, for the weather grew cold and wet in October and November, and they had not been used to so much hardship; so that they got colds in their limbs and distempers, but never had the infection; and thus about December they came home to the city again.

I give this story thus at large, principally to give an account what became of the great numbers of people which immediately appeared in the city as soon as the sickness abated; for, as I have said, great numbers of those that were able and had retreats in the country fled to those retreats. So, when it was increased to such a frightful extremity as I have related, the middling people who had not friends fled to all parts of the country where they could get shelter, as well those that had money to relieve themselves as those that had not. Those that had money always fled farthest, because they were able to subsist themselves; but those who were empty suffered, as I have said, great hardships, and were often driven by necessity to relieve their wants at the expense of the country. By that means the country was made very uneasy at them, and sometimes took them up, though even then they scarce knew what to do with them, and were always very backward to punish them, but often, too, they forced them from place to place, till they were obliged to come back again to London.

I have, since my knowing this story of John and his brother, inquired and found that there were a great many of the poor disconsolate people, as above, fled into the country every way, and some of them got little sheds, and barns, and outhouses to live in, where they could obtain so much kindness of the country, and especially where they had any the least

satisfactory account to give of themselves, and particularly that they did not come out of London too late. But others, and that in great numbers, built themselves little huts and retreats in the fields and woods, and lived like hermits in holes and caves, or any place they could find, and where, we may be sure, they suffered great extremities, such that many of them were obliged to come back again whatever the danger was; and so those little huts were often found empty, and the country people supposed the inhabitants lay dead in them of the plague, and would not go near them for fear, no, not in a great while; nor is it unlikely but that some of the unhappy wanderers might die so all alone, even sometimes for want of help, as particularly in one tent or hut was found a man dead, and on the gate of a field just by was cut with his knife, in uneven letters, the following words, by which it may be supposed the other man escaped, or that, one dying first, the other buried him as well as he could: —

"O mIsErY!
We BoTH ShaLL DyE,
WoE, WoE."

I have given an account already of what I found to have been the case down the river among the seafaring men; how the ships lay in the offing, as it 's called, in rows or lines astern of one another, quite down from the Pool as far as I could see. I have been told that they lay in the same manner quite down the river as low as Gravesend, and some far beyond, even everywhere, or in every place where they could ride with safety as to wind and weather; nor did I ever hear that the plague reached to any of the people on board those ships, except such as lay up in the Pool, or as high as Deptford Reach, although the people went frequently on shore to the country

towns and villages, and farmers' houses, to buy fresh provisions, fowls, pigs, calves, and the like for their supply.

Likewise I found that the watermen on the river above the bridge found means to convey themselves away up the river as far as they could go, and that they had, many of them, their whole families in their boats, covered with tilts and bales, as they call them, and furnished with straw within for their lodging, and that they lay thus all along by the shore in the marshes, some of them setting up little tents with their sails, and so lying under them on shore in the day, and going into their boats at night; and in this manner, as I have heard, the river-sides were lined with boats and people as long as they had anything to subsist on, or could get anything of the country; and, indeed, the country people, as well gentlemen as others, on these and all other occasions, were very forward to relieve them, but they were by no means willing to receive them into their towns and houses, and for that we cannot blame them.

There was one unhappy citizen, within my knowledge, who had been visited in a dreadful manner, so that his wife and all his children were dead, and himself and two servants only left, with an elderly woman, a near relation, who had nursed those that were dead as well as she could. This disconsolate man goes to a village near the town, though not within the bills of mortality, and finding an empty house there, inquires out the owner, and took the house. After a few days he got a cart and loaded it with goods, and carries them down to the house; the people of the village opposed his driving the cart along, but with some arguings and some force, the men that drove the cart along got through the street up to the door of the house. There the constable resisted them again, and would not let them be

brought in. The man caused the goods to be unloaden and laid at the door, and sent the cart away; upon which they carried the man before a justice of peace; that is to say, they commanded him to go, which he did. The justice ordered him to cause the cart to fetch away the goods again, which he refused to do; upon which the justice ordered the constable to pursue the carters and fetch them back, and make them reload the goods and carry them away, or to set them in the stocks till they came for further orders; and if they could not find them, nor the man would not consent to take them away, they should cause them to be drawn with hooks from the house-door and burned in the street. The poor distressed man upon this fetched the goods again, but with grievous cries and lamentations at the hardship of his case. But there was no remedy; self-preservation obliged the people to those severities, which they would not otherwise have been concerned in. Whether this poor man lived or died I cannot tell, but it was reported that he had the plague upon him at that time; and perhaps the people might report that to justify their usage of him; but it was not unlikely that either he or his goods, or both, were dangerous, when his whole family had been dead of the distemper so little a while before.

I know that the inhabitants of the towns adjacent to London were much blamed for cruelty to the poor people that ran from the contagion in their distress, and many very severe things were done, as may be seen from what has been said; but I cannot but say also that, where there was room for charity and assistance to the people, without apparent danger to themselves, they were willing enough to help and relieve them. But as every town were indeed judges in their own case, so the poor people who ran abroad in their extremities were often ill-used and driven

back again into the town; and this caused infinite exclamations and outcries against the country towns, and made the clamour very popular.

And yet, more or less, maugre all the caution, there was not a town of any note within ten (or, I believe, twenty) miles of the city but what was more or less infected and had some died among them. I have heard the accounts of several, such as they were reckoned up, as follows: —

In Enfield	32	In Deptford	623
" Hornsey	58	" Greenwich	231
" Newington	17	" Eltham and Lusum	85
" Tottenham	42	" Croydon	61
" Edmonton	19	" Brentwood	70
" Barnet and Hadleigh	43	" Romford	109
" St. Albans	121	" Barking Abbot	200
" Watford	45	" Brentford	432
" Uxbridge	117	" Kingston	122
" Hertford	90	" Staines	82
" Ware	160	" Chertsey	18
" Hoddesdon	30	" Windsor	103
" Waltham Abbey	23		
" Epping	26	*Cum aliis.*	

Another thing might render the country more strict with respect to the citizens, and especially with respect to the poor, and this was what I hinted at before, namely, that there was a seeming propensity or a wicked inclination in those that were infected to infect others.

There had been great debates among our physicians as to the reason of this. Some will have it to be in the nature of the disease, and that it impresses every one that is seized upon by it with a kind of a rage, and a hatred against their own kind, as if there was a malignity not only in the distemper to communicate itself, but in the very nature of man, prompting him with evil will or an evil eye, that, as they say in the case of a mad dog, who, though the gentlest

creature before of any of his kind, yet then will fly upon and bite any one that comes next him, and those as soon as any who had been most observed by him before.

Others placed it to the account of the corruption of human nature, who cannot bear to see itself more miserable than others of its own species, and has a kind of involuntary wish that all men were as unhappy or in as bad a condition as itself.

Others say it was only a kind of desperation, not knowing or regarding what they did, and consequently unconcerned at the danger or safety, not only of anybody near them, but even of themselves also. And indeed when men are once come to a condition to abandon themselves, and be unconcerned for the safety or at the danger of themselves, it cannot be so much wondered that they should be careless of the safety of other people.

But I choose to give this grave debate a quite different turn, and answer it or resolve it all by saying that I do not grant the fact. On the contrary, I say that the thing is not really so, but that it was a general complaint raised by the people inhabiting the outlying villages against the citizens to justify, or at least excuse, those hardships and severities so much talked of, and in which complaints both sides may be said to have injured one another; that is to say, the citizens pressing to be received and harboured in time of distress, and with the plague upon them, complain of the cruelty and injustice of the country people in being refused entrance and forced back again with their goods and families; and the inhabitants, finding themselves so imposed upon, and the citizens breaking in as it were upon them whether they would or no, complain that when they were infected they were not only regardless of others, but even willing to infect them; neither of which were

really true, that is to say, in the colours they were described in.

It is true there is something to be said for the frequent alarms which were given to the country of the resolution of the people of London to come out by force, not only for relief, but to plunder and rob; that they ran about the streets with the distemper upon them without any control; and that no care was taken to shut up houses, and confine the sick people from infecting others; whereas, to do the Londoners justice, they never practised such things, except in such particular cases as I have mentioned above, and such like. On the other hand, everything was managed with so much care, and such excellent order was observed in the whole city and suburbs by the care of the Lord Mayor and aldermen, and by the justices of the peace, church-wardens, &c., in the out-parts, that London may be a pattern to all the cities in the world for the good government and the excellent order that was everywhere kept, even in the time of the most violent infection, and when the people were in the utmost consternation and distress. But of this I shall speak by itself.

One thing, it is to be observed, was owing principally to the prudence of the magistrates, and ought to be mentioned to their honour, viz., the moderation which they used in the great and difficult work of shutting up of houses. It is true, as I have mentioned, that the shutting up of houses was a great subject of discontent, and I may say indeed the only subject of discontent among the people at that time; for the confining the sound in the same house with the sick was counted very terrible, and the complaints of people so confined were very grievous. They were heard into the very streets, and they were sometimes such that called for resentment, though oftener for compassion. They had no way to converse with any

of their friends but out at their windows, where they would make such piteous lamentations as often moved the hearts of those they talked with, and of others who, passing by, heard their story; and as those complaints oftentimes reproached the severity, and sometimes the insolence, of the watchmen placed at their doors, those watchmen would answer saucily enough, and perhaps be apt to affront the people who were in the street talking to the said families; for which, or for their ill-treatment of the families, I think seven or eight of them in several places were killed; I know not whether I should say murdered or not, because I cannot enter into the particular cases. It is true the watchmen were on their duty, and acting in the post where they were placed by a lawful authority; and killing any public legal officer in the execution of his office is always, in the language of the law, called murder. But as they were not authorised by the magistrates' instructions, or by the power they acted under, to be injurious or abusive, either to the people who were under their observation, or to any that concerned themselves for them; so when they did so, they might be said to act themselves, not their office; to act as private persons, not as persons employed; and consequently, if they brought mischief upon themselves by such an undue behaviour, that mischief was upon their own heads; and indeed they had so much the hearty curses of the people, whether they deserved it or not, that whatever befell them nobody pitied them, and everybody was apt to say they deserved it, whatever it was. Nor do I remember that anybody was ever punished, at least to any considerable degree, for whatever was done to the watchmen that guarded their houses.

What variety of stratagems were used to escape and get out of houses thus shut up, by which the

watchmen were deceived or overpowered, and that the people got away, I have taken notice of already, and shall say no more to that. But I say the magistrates did moderate and ease families upon many occasions in this case, and particularly in that of taking away, or suffering to be removed, the sick persons out of such houses when they were willing to be removed either to a pest-house or other places, and sometimes giving the well persons in the family so shut up leave to remove upon information given that they were well, and that they would confine themselves in such houses where they went so long as should be required of them. The concern, also, of the magistrates for the supplying such poor families as were infected — I say, supplying them with necessaries, as well physic as food — was very great, and in which they did not content themselves with giving the necessary orders to the officers appointed, but the aldermen in person, and on horseback, frequently rode to such houses and caused the people to be asked at their windows whether they were duly attended or not; also, whether they wanted anything that was necessary, and if the officers had constantly carried their messages and fetched them such things as they wanted or not. And if they answered in the affirmative, all was well; but if they complained that they were ill supplied, and that the officer did not do his duty, or did not treat them civilly, they (the officers) were generally removed, and others placed in their stead.

It is true such complaint might be unjust, and if the officer had such arguments to use as would convince the magistrate that he was right, and that the people had injured him, he was continued and they reproved. But this part could not well bear a particular inquiry, for the parties could very ill be well heard and answered in the street from the windows,

as was the case then. The magistrates, therefore. generally chose to favour the people and remove the man, as what seemed to be the least wrong and of the least ill consequence; seeing if the watchman was injured, yet they could easily make him amends by giving him another post of the like nature; but if the family was injured, there was no satisfaction could be made to them, the damage perhaps being irreparable, as it concerned their lives.

A great variety of these cases frequently happened between the watchmen and the poor people shut up, besides those I formerly mentioned about escaping. Sometimes the watchmen were absent, sometimes drunk, sometimes asleep when the people wanted them, and such never failed to be punished severely, as indeed they deserved.

But after all that was or could be done in these cases, the shutting up of houses, so as to confine those that were well with those that were sick, had very great inconveniences in it, and some that were very tragical, and which merited to have been considered if there had been room for it. But it was authorised by a law, it had the public good in view as the end chiefly aimed at, and all the private injuries that were done by the putting it in execution must be put to the account of the public benefit.

It is doubtful to this day whether, in the whole, it contributed anything to the stop of the infection, and, indeed, I cannot say it did, for nothing could run with greater fury and rage than the infection did when it was in its chief violence, though the houses infected were shut up as exactly and as effectually as it was possible. Certain it is that if all the infected persons were effectually shut in, no sound person could have been infected by them, because they could not have come near them. But the case was this, and I shall only touch it here, namely, that the in-

fection was propagated insensibly, and by such persons as were not visibly infected, who neither knew whom they infected or who they were infected by.

A house in Whitechapel was shut up for the sake of one infected maid, who had only spots, not the tokens come out upon her, and recovered; yet these people obtained no liberty to stir, neither for air or exercise forty days. Want of breath, fear, anger, vexation, and all the other griefs attending such an injurious treatment cast the mistress of the family into a fever, and visitors came into the house and said it was the plague, though the physicians declared it was not. However, the family were obliged to begin their quarantine anew on the report of the visitor or examiner, though their former quarantine wanted but a few days of being finished. This oppressed them so with anger and grief, and, as before, straitened them also so much as to room, and for want of breathing and free air, that most of the family fell sick, one of one distemper, one of another, chiefly scorbutic ailments; only one a violent colic; till, after several prolongings of their confinement, some or other of those that came in with the visitors to inspect the persons that were ill, in hopes of releasing them, brought the distemper with them and infected the whole house, and all or most of them died, not of the plague as really upon them before, but of the plague that those people brought them, who should have been careful to have protected them from it. And this was a thing which frequently happened, and was, indeed, one of the worst consequences of shutting houses up.

I had about this time a little hardship put upon me, which I was at first greatly afflicted at, and very much disturbed about, though, as it proved, it did not expose me to any disaster; and this was being appointed by the alderman of Portsoken Ward one

of the examiners of the houses in the precinct where I lived. We had a large parish, and had no less than eighteen examiners, as the order called us; the people called us visitors. I endeavoured with all my might to be excused from such an employment, and used many arguments with the alderman's deputy to be excused; particularly I alleged that I was against shutting up houses at all, and that it would be very hard to oblige me to be an instrument in that which was against my judgment, and which I did verily believe would not answer the end it was intended for; but all the abatement I could get was only, that whereas the officer was appointed by my Lord Mayor to continue two months, I should be obliged to hold it but three weeks, on condition nevertheless that I could then get some other sufficient housekeeper to serve the rest of the time for me, which was, in short, but a very small favour, it being very difficult to get any man to accept of such an employment, that was fit to be entrusted with it.

It is true that shutting up of houses had one effect, which I am sensible was of moment, namely, it confined the distempered people, who would otherwise have been both very troublesome and very dangerous in their running about streets with the distemper upon them, which, when they were delirious, they would have done in a most frightful manner, and as indeed they began to do at first very much, till they were thus restrained; nay, so very open they were that the poor would go about and beg at people's doors, and say they had the plague upon them, and beg rags for their sores, or both, or anything that delirious nature happened to think of.

A poor, unhappy gentlewoman, a substantial citizen's wife, was (if the story be true) murdered by one of these creatures in Aldersgate Street, or that way. He was going along the street, raving mad,

to be sure, and singing; the people only said he was drunk, but he himself said he had the plague upon him, which, it seems, was true; and meeting this gentlewoman, he would kiss her. She was terribly frighted, as he was only a rude fellow, and she ran from him, but the street being very thin of people, there was nobody near enough to help her. When she saw he would overtake her, she turned and gave him a thrust so forcibly, he being but weak, and pushed him down backward. But very unhappily, she being so near, he caught hold of her, and pulled her down also, and getting up first, mastered her, and kissed her; and which was worst of all, when he had done, told her he had the plague, and why should not she have it as well as he? She was frighted enough before, being also young with child; but when she heard him say he had the plague, she screamed out and fell down into a swoon, or in a fit, which, though she recovered a little, yet killed her in a very few days, and I never heard whether she had the plague or no.

Another infected person came and knocked at the door of a citizen's house where they knew him very well; the servant let him in, and being told the master of the house was above, he ran up, and came into the room to them as the whole family was at supper. They began to rise up, a little surprised, not knowing what the matter was, but he bid them sit still, he only came to take his leave of them. They asked him, "Why, Mr ——, where are you going?" "Going?" says he; "I have got the sickness, and shall die to-morrow night." 'T is easy to believe, though not to describe, the consternation they were all in. The women and the man's daughters, which were but little girls, were frighted almost to death, and got up, one running out at one door and one at another, some downstairs and some

upstairs, and getting together as well as they could, locked themselves into their chambers, and screamed out at the window for help, as if they had been frighted out of their wits. The master, more composed than they, though both frighted and provoked, was going to lay hands on him and throw him downstairs, being in a passion, but then, considering a little the condition of the man and the danger of touching him, horror seized his mind, and he stood still like one astonished. The poor distempered man all this while, being as well diseased in his brain as in his body, stood still like one amazed. At length he turns round: "Ay!" says he, with all the seeming calmness imaginable, "is it so with you all? Are you all disturbed at me? Why, then I 'll e'en go home and die there." And so he goes immediately downstairs. The servant that had let him in goes down after him with a candle, but was afraid to go past him and open the door, so he stood on the stairs to see what he would do. The man went and opened the door, and went out and flung the door after him. It was some while before the family recovered the fright, but as no ill consequence attended, they have had occasion since to speak of it (you may be sure) with great satisfaction. Though the man was gone, it was some time, nay, as I heard, some days before they recovered themselves of the hurry they were in; nor did they go up and down the house with any assurance till they had burnt a great variety of fumes and perfumes in all the rooms, and made a great many smokes of pitch, of gunpowder, and of sulphur, all separately shifted, and washed their clothes, and the like. As to the poor man, whether he lived or died I don't remember.

It is most certain that, if by the shutting up of houses the sick had not been confined, multitudes who, in the height of their fever, were delirious and dis-

tracted would have been continually running up and down the streets; and even as it was a very great number did so, and offered all sorts of violence to those they met, even just as a mad dog runs on and bites at every one he meets; nor can I doubt but that, should one of those infected, diseased creatures have bitten any man or woman while the frenzy of the distemper was upon them, they, I mean the person so wounded, would as certainly have been incurably infected as one that was sick before, and had the tokens upon him.

I heard of one infected creature who, running out of his bed in his shirt in the anguish and agony of his swellings, of which he had three upon him, got his shoes on and went to put on his coat; but the nurse resisting, and snatching the coat from him, he threw her down, ran over her, ran downstairs and into the street, directly to the Thames in his shirt, the nurse running after him, and calling to the watch to stop him; but the watchman, frighted at the man, and afraid to touch him, let him go on; upon which he ran down to the Stillyard stairs, threw away his shirt, and plunged into the Thames, and, being a good swimmer, swam quite over the river; and the tide being coming in, as they call it, that is, running westward, he reached the land not till he came about the Falcon stairs, where landing, and finding no people there, it being in the night, he ran about the streets there, naked as he was, for a good while, when, it being by that time high water, he takes the river again, and swam back to the Stillyard, landed, ran up the streets again to his own house, knocking at the door, went up the stairs and into his bed again; and that this terrible experiment cured him of the plague, that is to say, that the violent motion of his arms and legs stretched the parts where the swellings he had upon him were,

that is to say, under his arms and his groin, and caused them to ripen and break, and that the cold of the water abated the fever in his blood.

I have only to add that I do not relate this any more than some of the other, as a fact within my own knowledge, so as that I can vouch the truth of them, and especially that of the man being cured by the extravagant adventure, which I confess I do not think very possible; but it may serve to confirm the many desperate things which the distressed people falling into deliriums, and what we call light headedness, were frequently run upon at that time, and how infinitely more such there would have been if such people had not been confined by the shutting up of houses; and this I take to be the best, if not the only good thing which was performed by that severe method.

On the other hand, the complaints and the murmurings were very bitter against the thing itself. It would pierce the hearts of all that came by to hear the piteous cries of those infected people, who, being thus out of their understandings by the violence of their pain, or the heat of their blood, were either shut in or perhaps tied in their beds and chairs, to prevent their doing themselves hurt, and who would make a dreadful outcry at their being confined, and at their being not permitted to die at large, as they called it, and as they would have done before.

This running of distempered people about the streets was very dismal, and the magistrates did their utmost to prevent it; but as it was generally in the night and always sudden when such attempts were made, the officers could not be at hand to prevent it; and even when any got out in the day, the officers appointed did not care to meddle with them, because, as they were all grievously infected, to be sure, when they were come to that height, so they

were more than ordinarily infectious, and it was one of the most dangerous things that could be to touch them. On the other hand, they generally ran on, not knowing what they did, till they dropped down stark dead, or till they had exhausted their spirits so as that they would fall and then die in perhaps half-an-hour or an hour; and, which was most piteous to hear, they were sure to come to themselves entirely in that half-hour or hour, and then to make most grievous and piercing cries and lamentations in the deep, afflicting sense of the condition they were in. This was much of it before the order for shutting up of houses were strictly put in execution, for at first the watchmen were not so vigorous and severe as they were afterward in the keeping the people in; that is to say, before they were, I mean some of them, severely punished for their neglect, failing in their duty, and letting people who were under their care slip away, or conniving at their going abroad, whether sick or well. But after they saw the officers appointed to examine into their conduct were resolved to have them do their duty or be punished for the omission, they were more exact, and the people were strictly restrained; which was a thing they took so ill and bore so impatiently that their discontents can hardly be described. But there was an absolute necessity for it, that must be confessed, unless some other measures had been timely entered upon, and it was too late for that.

Had not this particular of the sick being restrained as above been our case at that time, London would have been the most dreadful place that ever was in the world; there would, for aught I know, have as many people died in the streets as died in their houses; for when the distemper was at its height it generally made them raving and delirious, and when they were so they would never be persuaded to keep

in their beds but by force; and many who were not tied threw themselves out of windows, when they found they could not get leave to go out of their doors.

It was for want of people conversing one with another, in this time of calamity, that it was impossible any particular person could come at the knowledge of all the extraordinary cases that occurred in different families; and particularly I believe it was never known to this day how many people in their deliriums drowned themselves in the Thames, and in the river which runs from the marshes by Hackney, which we generally called Ware River, or Hackney River. As to those which were set down in the weekly bill, they were indeed few; nor could it be known of any of those whether they drowned themselves by accident or not. But I believe I might reckon up more who, within the compass of my knowledge or observation, really drowned themselves in that year than are put down in the bill of all put together, for many of the bodies were never found who yet were known to be lost; and the like in other methods of self-destruction. There was also one man in or about Whitecross Street burned himself to death in his bed; some said it was done by himself, others that it was by the treachery of the nurse that attended him; but that he had the plague upon him was agreed by all.

It was a merciful disposition of Providence also, and which I have many times thought of at that time, that no fires, or no considerable ones at least, happened in the city during that year, which, if it had been otherwise, would have been very dreadful; and either the people must have let them alone unquenched, or have come together in great crowds and throngs, unconcerned at the danger of the infection, not concerned at the houses they went into,

at the goods they handled, or at the persons or the people they came among. But so it was, that excepting that in Cripplegate parish, and two or three little eruptions of fires, which were presently extinguished, there was no disaster of that kind happened in the whole year. They told us a story of a house in a place called Swan Alley, passing from Goswell Street, near the end of Old Street, into St. John Street, that a family was infected there in so terrible a manner that every one of the house died. The last person lay dead on the floor, and, as it is supposed, had laid herself all along to die just before the fire; the fire, it seems, had fallen from its place, being of wood, and had taken hold of the boards and the joists they lay on, and burnt as far as just to the body, but had not taken hold of the dead body, though she had little more than her shift on, and had gone out of itself, not hurting the rest of the house, though it was a slight timber house. How true this might be I do not determine, but the city being to suffer severely the next year by fire, this year it felt very little of that calamity.

Indeed, considering the deliriums which the agony threw people into, and how I have mentioned in their madness, when they were alone, they did many desperate things, it was very strange there were no more disasters of that kind.

It has been frequently asked me, and I cannot say that I ever knew how to give a direct answer to it, how it came to pass that so many infected people appeared abroad in the streets at the same time that the houses which were infected were so vigilantly searched, and all of them shut up and guarded as they were.

I confess I know not what answer to give to this, unless it be this, that in so great and populous a city as this is it was impossible to discover every

house that was infected as soon as it was so, or to shut up all the houses that were infected; so that people had the liberty of going about the streets, even where they pleased, unless they were known to belong to such-and-such infected houses.

It is true that, as several physicians told my Lord Mayor, the fury of the contagion was such at some particular times, and people sickened so fast and died so soon, that it was impossible, and indeed to no purpose, to go about to inquire who was sick and who was well, or to shut them up with such exactness as the thing required, almost every house in a whole street being infected, and in many places every person in some of the houses; and that which was still worse, by the time that the houses were known to be infected, most of the persons infected would be stone dead, and the rest run away for fear of being shut up; so that it was to very small purpose to call them infected houses and shut them up, the infection having ravaged and taken its leave of the house before it was really known that the family was any way touched.

This might be sufficient to convince any reasonable person, that as it was not in the power of the magistrates, or of any human methods of policy, to prevent the spreading the infection, so that this way of shutting up of houses was perfectly insufficient for that end. Indeed it seemed to have no manner of public good in it, equal or proportionable to the grievous burden that it was to the particular families that were so shut up; and, as far as I was employed by the public in directing that severity, I frequently found occasion to see that it was incapable of answering the end. For example, as I was desired, as a visitor or examiner, to inquire into the particulars of several families which were infected, we scarce came to any house where the plague had visibly ap-

peared in the family but that some of the family were fled and gone. The magistrates would resent this, and charge the examiners with being remiss in their examination or inspection. But by that means houses were long infected before it was known. Now, as I was in this dangerous office but half the appointed time, which was two months, it was long enough to inform myself that we were no way capable of coming at the knowledge of the true state of any family but by inquiring at the door or of the neighbours. As for going into every house to search, that was a part no authority would offer to impose on the inhabitants, or any citizen would undertake, for it would have been exposing us to certain infection and death, and to the ruin of our own families, as well as of ourselves; nor would any citizen of probity, and that could be depended upon, have stayed in the town, if they had been made liable to such a severity.

Seeing then that we could come at the certainty of things by no method but that of inquiry of the neighbours or of the family, and on that we could not justly depend, it was not possible but that the uncertainty of this matter would remain as above.

It is true masters of families were bound by the order to give notice to the examiner of the place wherein he lived, within two hours after he should discover it, of any person being sick in his house, that is to say, having signs of the infection, but they found so many ways to evade this and excuse their negligence that they seldom gave that notice till they had taken measures to have every one escape out of the house who had a mind to escape, whether they were sick or sound; and while this was so, it is easy to see that the shutting up of houses was no way to be depended upon as a sufficient method for putting a stop to the infection, because, as I have

said elsewhere, many of those that so went out of those infected houses had the plague really upon them, though they might really think themselves sound. And some of these were the people that walked the streets till they fell down dead, not that they were suddenly struck with the distemper as with a bullet that killed with the stroke, but that they really had the infection in their blood long before; only, that as it preyed secretly on the vitals, it appeared not till it seized the heart with a mortal power, and the patient died in a moment, as with a sudden fainting or an apoplectic fit.

I know that some even of our physicians thought for a time that those people that so died in the streets were seized but that moment they fell, as if they had been touched by a stroke from heaven, as men are killed by a flash of lightning, but they found reason to alter their opinion afterwards; for upon examining the bodies of such after they were dead, they always either had tokens upon them or other evident proofs of the distemper having been longer upon them than they had otherwise expected.

This often was the reason that, as I have said, we that were examiners were not able to come at the knowledge of the infection being entered into a house till it was too late to shut it up, and sometimes not till the people that were left were all dead. In Petticoat Lane two houses together were infected, and several people sick; but the distemper was so well concealed, the examiner, who was my neighbour, got no knowledge of it till notice was sent him that the people were all dead, and that the carts should call there to fetch them away. The two heads of the families concerted their measures, and so ordered their matters as that when the examiner was in the neighbourhood they appeared generally at a time, and answered, that is, lied, for one another, or got

some of the neighbourhood to say they were all in health, and, perhaps, knew no better, till, death making it impossible to keep it any longer as a secret, the dead-carts were called in the night to both the houses, and so it became public. But when the examiner ordered the constable to shut up the houses there was nobody left in them but three people, two in one house, and one in the other, just dying, and a nurse in each house, who acknowledged that they had buried five before, that the houses had been infected nine or ten days, and that for all the rest of the two families, which were many, they were gone, some sick, some well, or whether sick or well could not be known.

In like manner, at another house in the same lane, a man having his family infected, but very unwilling to be shut up, when he could conceal it no longer, shut up himself; that is to say, he set the great red cross upon his door, with the words, "Lord have mercy upon us," and so deluded the examiner, who supposed it had been done by the constable, by order of the other examiner, for there were two examiners to every district or precinct. By this means he had free egress and regress into his house again, and out of it, as he pleased, notwithstanding it was infected, till at length his stratagem was found out, and then he, with the sound part of his servants and family, made off and escaped, so they were not shut up at all.

These things made it very hard, if not impossible, as I have said, to prevent the spreading of an infection by the shutting up of houses, unless the people would think the shutting of their houses no grievance, and be so willing to have it done as that they would give notice duly and faithfully to the magistrates of their being infected, as soon as it was known by themselves; but as that cannot be expected

from them, and the examiners cannot be supposed, as above, to go into their houses to visit and search, all the good of shutting up houses will be defeated, and few houses will be shut up in time, except those of the poor, who cannot conceal it, and of some people who will be discovered by the terror and consternation which the thing put them into.

I got myself discharged of the dangerous office I was in as soon as I could get another admitted, whom I had obtained for a little money to accept of it; and so, instead of serving the two months, which was directed, I was not above three weeks in it; and a great while too, considering it was in the month of August, at which time the distemper began to rage with great violence at our end of the town.

In the execution of this office I could not refrain speaking my opinion among my neighbours as to this shutting up the people in their houses; in which we saw most evidently the severities that were used, though grievous in themselves, had also this particular objection against them, namely, that they did not answer the end, as I have said, but that the distempered people went day by day about the streets; and it was our united opinion that a method to have removed the sound from the sick, in case of a particular house being visited, would have been much more reasonable on many accounts, leaving nobody with the sick persons but such as should, on such occasion, request to stay and declare themselves content to be shut up with them.

Our scheme for removing those that were sound from those that were sick was only in such houses as were infected, and confining the sick was no confinement; those that could not stir would not complain while they were in their senses, and while they had the power of judging. Indeed, when they came to be delirious and light-headed, then

they would cry out of the cruelty of being confined; but for the removal of those that were well, we thought it highly reasonable and just, for their own sakes, they should be removed from the sick, and that, for other people's safety, they should keep retired for a while, to see that they were sound, and might not infect others; and we thought twenty or thirty days enough for this.

Now, certainly, if houses had been provided on purpose for those that were sound to perform this demiquarantine in, they would have much less reason to think themselves injured in such a restraint than in being confined with infected people in the houses where they lived.

It is here, however, to be observed that after the funerals became so many that people could not toll the bell, mourn or weep, or wear black for one another, as they did before; no, nor so much as make coffins for those that died; so after a while the fury of the infection appeared to be so increased that, in short, they shut up no houses at all. It seemed enough that all the remedies of that kind had been used till they were found fruitless, and that the plague spread itself with an irresistible fury; so that as the fire the succeeding year spread itself, and burned with such violence that the citizens, in despair, gave over their endeavours to extinguish it, so in the plague it came at last to such violence that the people sat still looking at one another, and seemed quite abandoned to despair; whole streets seemed to be desolated, and not to be shut up only, but to be emptied of their inhabitants; doors were left open, windows stood shattering with the wind in empty houses for want of people to shut them. In a word, people began to give up themselves to their fears, and to think that all regulations and methods were in vain, and that there was nothing

to be hoped for but an universal desolation; and it was even in the height of this general despair that it pleased God to stay His hand, and to slacken the fury of the contagion in such a manner as was even surprising, like its beginning, and demonstrated it to be His own particular hand, and that above, if not without the agency of means, as I shall take notice of in its proper place.

But I must still speak of the plague as in its height, raging even to desolation, and the people under the most dreadful consternation, even, as I have said, to despair. It is hardly credible to what excesses the passions of men carried them in this extremity of the distemper, and this part, I think, was as moving as the rest. What could affect a man in his full power of reflection, and what could make deeper impressions on the soul, than to see a man almost naked, and got out of his house, or perhaps out of his bed, into the street, come out of Harrow Alley, a populous conjunction or collection of alleys, courts, and passages in the Butcher Row in Whitechapel, — I say, what could be more affecting than to see this poor man come out into the open street, run dancing and singing, and making a thousand antic gestures, with five or six women and children running after him, crying and calling upon him for the Lord's sake, to come back, and entreating the help of others to bring him back, but all in vain, nobody daring to lay a hand upon him or to come near him?

This was a most grievous and afflicting thing to me, who saw it all from my own windows; for all this while the poor afflicted man was, as I observed it, even then in the utmost agony of pain, having, as they said, two swellings upon him, which could not be brought to break or to suppurate; but, by laying strong caustics on them, the surgeons had, it

seems, hopes to break them, which caustics were then upon him, burning his flesh as with a hot iron. I cannot say what became of this poor man, but I think he continued roving about in that manner till he fell down and died.

No wonder the aspect of the city itself was frightful. The usual concourse of people in the streets, and which used to be supplied from our end of the town, was abated. The Exchange was not kept shut, indeed, but it was no more frequented. The fires were lost; they had been almost extinguished for some days by a very smart and hasty rain. But that was not all; some of the physicians insisted that they were not only no benefit, but injurious to the health of people. This they made a loud clamor about, and complained to the Lord Mayor about it. On the other hand, others of the same faculty, and eminent too, opposed them, and gave their reasons why the fires were, and must be, useful to assuage the violence of the distemper. I cannot give a full account of their arguments on both sides; only this I remember, that they cavilled very much with one another. Some were for fires, but that they must be made of wood and not coal, and of particular sorts of wood too, such as fir in particular, or cedar, because of the strong effluvia of turpentine; others were for coal and not wood, because of the sulphur and bitumen; and others were for neither one or other. Upon the whole, the Lord Mayor ordered no more fires, and especially on this account, namely, that the plague was so fierce that they saw evidently it defied all means, and rather seemed to increase than decrease upon any application to check and abate it; and yet this amazement of the magistrates proceeded rather from want of being able to apply any means successfully than from any unwillingness either to expose themselves or undertake the care and

weight of business; for, to do them justice, they neither spared their pains or their persons. But nothing answered; the infection raged, and the people were now frighted and terrified to the last degree, so that, as I may say, they gave themselves up, and, as I mentioned above, abandoned themselves to their despair.

But let me observe here, that when I say the people abandoned themselves to despair, I do not mean to what men call a religious despair, or a despair of their eternal state, but I mean a despair of their being able to escape the infection or to outlive the plague, which, they saw, was so raging and so irresistible in its force, that indeed few people that were touched with it in its height, about August and September, escaped; and, which is very particular, contrary to its ordinary operation in June and July, and the beginning of August, when, as I have observed, many were infected, and continued so many days, and then went off, after having had the poison in their blood a long time; but now, on the contrary, most of the people who were taken during the two last weeks in August, and in the three first weeks in September, generally died in two or three days at furthest, and many the very same day they were taken; whether the dog-days, or, as our astrologers pretended to express themselves, the influence of the dog-star had that malignant effect, or all those who had the seeds of infection before in them brought it up to a maturity at that time altogether, I know not; but this was the time when it was reported, that above 3000 people died in one night; and they that would have us believe they more critically observed it pretend to say that they all died within the space of two hours, viz., between the hours of one and three in the morning.

As to the suddenness of people's dying at this

time, more than before, there were innumerable instances of it, and I could name several in my neighbourhood. One family without the Bars, and not far from me, were all seemingly well on the Monday, being ten in family. That evening one maid and one apprentice were taken ill, and died the next morning, when the other apprentice and two children were touched, whereof one died the same evening, and the other two on Wednesday. In a word, by Saturday at noon the master, mistress, four children, and four servants were all gone, and the house left entirely empty, except an ancient woman who came in to take charge of the goods for the master of the family's brother, who lived not far off, and who had not been sick.

Many houses were then left desolate, all the people being carried away dead; and especially in an alley farther on the same side beyond the Bars, going in at the sign of Moses and Aaron, there were several houses together, which, they said, had not one person left alive in them, and some that died last in several of those houses were left a little too long before they were fetched out to be buried; the reason of which was not, as some have written, very untruly, that the living were not sufficient to bury the dead, but that the mortality was so great in the yard or alley that there was nobody left to give notice to the buriers or sextons that there were any dead bodies there to be buried. It was said, how true I know not, that some of those bodies were so much corrupted and so rotten that it was with difficulty they were carried; and as the carts could not come any nearer than to the Alley Gate in the High Street, it was so much the more difficult to bring them along; but I am not certain how many bodies were then left. I am sure that ordinarily it was not so.

As I have mentioned how the people were brought

into a condition to despair of life and abandon themselves, so this very thing had a strange effect among us for three or four weeks; that is, it made them bold and venturous, they were no more shy of one another, or restrained within doors, but went anywhere and everywhere, and began to converse. One would say to another, "I do not ask you how you are, or say how I am; it is certain we shall all go; so 't is no matter who is sick or who is sound;" and so they ran desperately into any place or any company.

As it brought the people into public company, so it was surprising how it brought them to crowd into the churches. They inquired no more into whom they sat near to or far from, what offensive smells they met with, or what condition the people seemed to be in, but looking upon themselves all as so many dead corpses, they come to the churches without the least caution, and crowded together, as if their lives were of no consequence compared to the work which they came about there. Indeed, the zeal which they showed in coming, and the earnestness and affection they showed in their attention to what they heard, made it manifest what a value people would all put upon the worship of God if they thought every day they attended at the church that it would be their last.

Nor was it without other strange effects, for it took away all manner of prejudice at or scruple about the person whom they found in the pulpit when they came to the churches. It cannot be doubted but that many of the ministers of the parish churches were cut off, among others, in so common and dreadful a calamity; and others had not courage enough to stand it, but removed into the country as they found means for escape. As then some parish churches were quite vacant and forsaken, the people

made no scruple of desiring such Dissenters as had been a few years before deprived of their livings by virtue of the Act of Parliament called the Act of Uniformity to preach in the churches; nor did the church ministers in that case make any difficulty of accepting their assistance; so that many of those whom they called silenced ministers had their mouths opened on this occasion and preached publicly to the people.

Here we may observe, and I hope it will not be amiss to take notice of it, that a near view of death would soon reconcile men of good principles one to another, and that it is chiefly owing to our easy situation in life and our putting these things far from us that our breaches are fomented, ill blood continued, prejudices, breach of charity and of Christian union, so much kept and so far carried on among us as it is. Another plague year would reconcile all these differences; a close conversing with death, or with diseases that threaten death, would scum off the gall from our tempers, remove the animosities among us, and bring us to see with differing eyes than those which we looked on things with before. As the people who had been used to join with the Church were reconciled at this time with the admitting the Dissenters to preach to them, so the Dissenters, who with an uncommon prejudice had broken off from the communion of the Church of England, were now content to come to their parish churches, and to conform to the worship which they did not approve of before; but as the terror of the infection abated, those things all returned again to their less desirable channel, and to the course they were in before.

I mention this but historically. I have no mind to enter into arguments to move either or both sides to a more charitable compliance one with another.

I do not see that it is probable such a discourse would be either suitable or successful; the breaches seem rather to widen, and tend to a widening further, than to closing, and who am I that I should think myself able to influence either one side or other? But this I may repeat again, that 't is evident death will reconcile us all; on the other side the grave we shall be all brethren again. In heaven, whither I hope we may come from all parties and persuasions, we shall find neither prejudice or scruple; there we shall be of one principle and of one opinion. Why we cannot be content to go hand in hand to the place where we shall join heart and hand without the least hesitation, and with the most complete harmony and affection, — I say, why we cannot do so here I can say nothing to, neither shall I say anything more of it but that it remains to be lamented.

I could dwell a great while upon the calamities of this dreadful time, and go on to describe the objects that appeared among us every day, the dreadful extravagancies which the distraction of sick people drove them into; how the streets began now to be fuller of frightful objects, and families to be made even a terror to themselves. But after I have told you, as I have above, that one man, being tied in his bed, and finding no other way to deliver himself, set the bed on fire with his candle, which unhappily stood within his reach, and burnt himself in his bed; and how another, by the insufferable torment he bore, danced and sung naked in the streets, not knowing one ecstasy from another; I say, after I have mentioned these things, what can be added more? What can be said to represent the misery of these times more lively to the reader, or to give him a more perfect idea of a complicated distress?

I must acknowledge that this time was terrible, that I was sometimes at the end of all my resolutions, and that I had not the courage that I had at the beginning. As the extremity brought other people abroad, it drove me home, and except having made my voyage down to Blackwall and Greenwich, as I have related, which was an excursion, I kept afterwards very much within doors, as I had for about a fortnight before. I have said already that I repented several times that I had ventured to stay in town, and had not gone away with my brother and his family, but it was too late for that now; and after I had retreated and stayed within doors a good while before my impatience led me abroad, then they called me, as I have said, to an ugly and dangerous office, which brought me out again; but as that was expired while the height of the distemper lasted, I retired again, and continued close ten or twelve days more, during which many dismal spectacles represented themselves in my view, out of my own windows and in our own street, as that particularly from Harrow Alley, of the poor outrageous creature which danced and sung in his agony; and many others there were. Scarce a day or night passed over but some dismal thing or other happened at the end of that Harrow Alley, which was a place full of poor people, most of them belonging to the butchers, or to employments depending upon the butchery.

Sometimes heaps and throngs of people would burst out of the alley, most of them women, making a dreadful clamour, mixed or compounded of screeches, cryings, and calling one another, that we could not conceive what to make of it. Almost all the dead part of the night the dead-cart stood at the end of that alley, for if it went in it could not well turn again, and could go in but a little way.

There, I say, it stood to receive dead bodies, and as the churchyard was but a little way off, if it went away full it would soon be back again. It is impossible to describe the most horrible cries and noise the poor people would make at their bringing the dead bodies of their children and friends out of the cart, and by the number one would have thought there had been none left behind, or that there were people enough for a small city living in those places. Several times they cried "Murder," sometimes "Fire;" but it was easy to perceive it was all distraction, and the complaints of distressed and distempered people.

I believe it was everywhere thus at that time, for the plague raged for six or seven weeks beyond all that I have expressed, and came even to such a height that, in the extremity, they began to break into that excellent order of which I have spoken so much in behalf of the magistrates, namely, that no dead bodies were seen in the streets or burials in the daytime, for there was a necessity in this extremity to bear with its being otherwise for a little while.

One thing I cannot omit here, and indeed I thought it was extraordinary, at least it seemed a remarkable hand of Divine justice, viz., that all the predictors, astrologers, fortune-tellers, and what they called cunning-men, conjurers, and the like; calculators of nativities and dreamers of dreams, and such people, were gone and vanished; not one of them was to be found. I am verily persuaded that a great number of them fell in the heat of the calamity, having ventured to stay upon the prospect of getting great estates; and indeed their gain was but too great for a time, through the madness and folly of the people. But now they were silent; many of them went to their long home, not able

to foretell their own fate or to calculate their own nativities. Some have been critical enough to say that every one of them died. I dare not affirm that; but this I must own, that I never heard of one of them that ever appeared after the calamity was over.

But to return to my particular observations during this dreadful part of the visitation. I am now come, as I have said, to the month of September, which was the most dreadful of its kind, I believe, that ever London saw; for, by all the accounts which I have seen of the preceding visitations which have been in London, nothing has been like it, the number in the weekly bill amounting to almost 40,000 from the 22nd of August to the 26th of September, being but five weeks. The particulars of the bills are as follows, viz.: —

From August the 22nd	to the 29th		7496
" " 29th	" 5th September		8252
" September the 5th	" 12th	"	7690
" " 12th	" 19th	"	8297
" " 19th	" 26th	"	6460
			38,195

This was a prodigious number of itself, but if I should add the reasons which I have to believe that this account was deficient, and how deficient it was, you would, with me, make no scruple to believe that there died above ten thousand a week for all those weeks, one week with another, and a proportion for several weeks both before and after. The confusion among the people, especially within the city at that time, was inexpressible. The terror was so great at last that the courage of the people appointed to carry away the dead began to fail them; nay, several of them died, although they had the distemper before and were recovered, and some of them dropped down

when they have been carrying the bodies even at the pit side, and just ready to throw them in; and this confusion was greater in the city, because they had flattered themselves with hopes of escaping, and thought the bitterness of death was past. One cart, they told us, going up Shoreditch was forsaken of the drivers, or being left to one man to drive, he died in the street, and the horses going on, overthrew the cart, and left the bodies, some thrown out here, some there, in a dismal manner. Another cart was, it seems, found in the great pit in Finsbury Fields, the driver being dead, or having been gone and abandoned it, and the horses running too near it, the cart fell in and drew the horses in also. It was suggested that the driver was thrown in with it, and that the cart fell upon him, by reason his whip was seen to be in the pit among the bodies; but that, I suppose, could not be certain.

In our parish of Aldgate the dead-carts were several times, as I have heard, found standing at the churchyard gate full of dead bodies, but neither bellman or driver or any one else with it; neither in these or many other cases did they know what bodies they had in their cart, for sometimes they were let down with ropes out of balconies and out of windows, and sometimes the bearers brought them to the cart, sometimes other people; nor, as the men themselves said, did they trouble themselves to keep any account of the numbers.

The vigilance of the magistrates was now put to the utmost trial, and, it must be confessed, can never be enough acknowledged on this occasion also; whatever expense or trouble they were at, two things were never neglected in the city or suburbs either —

(1.) Provisions were always to be had in full plenty, and the price not much raised neither, hardly worth speaking.

(2.) No dead bodies lay unburied or uncovered; and if one walked from one end of the city to another, no funeral or sign of it was to be seen in the daytime, except a little, as I have said above, in the three first weeks in September.

This last article perhaps will hardly be believed when some accounts which others have published since that shall be seen, wherein they say that the dead lay unburied, which I am assured was utterly false; at least, if it had been anywhere so, it must have been in houses where the living were gone from the dead, having found means, as I have observed, to escape, and where no notice was given to the officers. All which amounts to nothing at all in the case in hand; for this I am positive in, having myself been employed a little in the direction of that part in the parish in which I lived, and where as great a desolation was made in proportion to the number of inhabitants as was anywhere; — I say, I am sure that there were no dead bodies remained unburied; that is to say, none that the proper officers knew of; none for want of people to carry them off, and buriers to put them into the ground and cover them; and this is sufficient to the argument; for what might lie in houses and holes, as in Moses and Aaron Alley, is nothing; for it is most certain they were buried as soon as they were found. As to the first article, namely, of provisions, the scarcity or dearness, though I have mentioned it before, and shall speak of it again, yet I must observe here —

(1.) The price of bread in particular was not much raised; for in the beginning of the year, viz., in the first week in March, the penny wheaten loaf was ten ounces and a half; and in the height of the contagion it was to be had at nine ounces and a half, and never dearer, no, not all that season. And about the beginning of November it was sold ten

ounces and a half again; the like of which, I believe, was never heard of in any city, under so dreadful a visitation, before.

(2.) Neither was there (which I wondered much at) any want of bakers or ovens kept open to supply the people with bread; but this was indeed alleged by some families, viz., that their maid-servants, going to the bakehouses with their dough to be baked, which was then the custom, sometimes came home with the sickness, that is to say, the plague upon them.

In all this dreadful visitation there were, as I have said before, but two pest-houses made use of, viz., one in the fields beyond Old Street and one in Westminster; neither was there any compulsion used in carrying people thither. Indeed there was no need of compulsion in the case, for there were thousands of poor distressed people who, having no help, or conveniences, or supplies but of charity, would have been very glad to have been carried thither and been taken care of, which, indeed, was the only thing that I think was wanting in the whole public management of the city, seeing nobody was here allowed to be brought to the pest-house but where money was given, or security for money, either at their introducing or upon their being cured and sent out, for very many were sent out again whole; and very good physicians were appointed to those places, so that many people did very well there, of which I shall make mention again. The principal sort of people sent thither were, as I have said, servants who got the distemper by going of errands to fetch necessaries to the families where they lived, and who in that case, if they came home sick, were removed to preserve the rest of the house; and they were so well looked after there, in all the time of the visitation, that there was but 156 buried

in all at the London pest-house, and 159 at that of Westminster.

By having more pest-houses I am far from meaning a forcing all people into such places. Had the shutting up of houses been omitted and the sick hurried out of their dwellings to pest-houses, as some proposed, it seems, at that time as well as since, it would certainly have been much worse than it was. The very removing the sick would have been a spreading of the infection, and the rather because that removing could not effectually clear the house where the sick person was of the distemper, and the rest of the family, being then left at liberty, would certainly spread it among others.

The methods also in private families, which would have been universally used to have concealed the distemper, and to have concealed the persons being sick, would have been such that the distemper would sometimes have seized a whole family before any visitors or examiners could have known of it. On the other hand, the prodigious numbers which would have been sick at a time would have exceeded all the capacity of public pest-houses to receive them, or of public officers to discover and remove them.

This was well considered in those days, and I have heard them talk of it often. The magistrates had enough to do to bring people to submit to having their houses shut up, and many ways they deceived the watchmen and got out, as I have observed. But that difficulty made it apparent that they would have found it impracticable to have gone the other way to work, for they could never have forced the sick people out of their beds and out of their dwellings. It must not have been my Lord Mayor's officers, but an army of officers that must have attempted it; and the people, on the other hand, would have been enraged and desperate, and would

have killed those that should have offered to have meddled with them or with their children and relations, whatever had befallen them for it; so that they would have made the people, who, as it was, were in the most terrible distraction imaginable, —I say, they would have made them stark mad; whereas the magistrates found it proper on several accounts to treat them with lenity and compassion, and not with violence and terror, such as dragging the sick out of their houses, or obliging them to remove themselves, would have been.

This leads me again to mention the time when the plague first began, that is to say, when it became certain that it would spread over the whole town, when, as I have said, the better sort of people first took the alarm, and began to hurry themselves out of town. It was true, as I observed in its place, that the throng was so great, and the coaches, horses, waggons, and carts were so many, driving and dragging the people away, that it looked as if all the city was running away; and had any regulations been published that had been terrifying at that time, especially such as would pretend to dispose of the people otherwise than they would dispose of themselves, it would have put both the city and suburbs into the utmost confusion.

But the magistrates wisely caused the people to be encouraged, made very good bye-laws for the regulating the citizens, keeping good order in the streets, and making everything as eligible as possible to all sorts of people.

In the first place, the Lord Mayor and the sheriffs, the Court of Aldermen, and a certain number of the Common Council men, or their deputies, came to a resolution and published it, viz., that they would not quit the city themselves, but that they would be always at hand for the preserving good order in every

place and for the doing justice on all occasions; as also for the distributing the public charity to the poor; and, in a word, for the doing the duty and discharging the trust reposed in them by the citizens to the utmost of their power.

In pursuance of these orders, the Lord Mayor, sheriffs, &c., held councils every day more or less, for making such dispositions as they found needful for preserving the civil peace; and though they used the people with all possible gentleness and clemency, yet all manner of presumptuous rogues, such as thieves, housebreakers, plunderers of the dead or of the sick, were duly punished, and several declarations were continually published by the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen against such.

Also all constables and churchwardens were enjoined to stay in the city upon severe penalties, or to depute such able and sufficient housekeepers as the deputy aldermen or Common Council men of the precinct should approve, and for whom they should give security; and also security in case of mortality, that they would forthwith constitute other constables in their stead.

These things re-established the minds of the people very much, especially in the first of their fright, when they talked of making so universal a flight that the city would have been in danger of being entirely deserted of its inhabitants, except the poor, and the country of being plundered and laid waste by the multitude. Nor were the magistrates deficient in performing their part as boldly as they promised it; for my Lord Mayor and the sheriffs were continually in the streets, and at places of the greatest danger, and though they did not care for having too great a resort of people crowding about them, yet in emergent cases they never denied the people access to them, and heard with patience all their grievances

and complaints. My Lord Mayor had a low gallery built on purpose in his hall, where he stood a little removed from the crowd when any complaint came to be heard, that he might appear with as much safety as possible.

Likewise the proper officers, called my Lord Mayor's officers, constantly attended in their turns, as they were in waiting; and if any of them were sick or infected, as some of them were, others were instantly employed to fill up and officiate in their places, till it was known whether the other should live or die.

In like manner the sheriffs and aldermen did in their several stations and wards, where they were placed by office, and the sheriffs' officers or sergeants were appointed to receive orders from the respective aldermen in their turn, so that justice was executed in all cases without interruption. In the next place, it was one of their particular cares to see the orders for the freedom of the markets observed, and in this part either the Lord Mayor or one or both of the sheriffs were every market-day on horseback to see their orders executed, and to see that the country people had all possible encouragement and freedom in their coming to the markets and going back again, and that no nuisances or frightful objects should be seen in the streets to terrify them or make them unwilling to come. Also the bakers were taken under particular order, and the Master of the Bakers' Company was, with his court of assistants, directed to see the order of my Lord Mayor for their regulation put in execution, and the due assize of bread, which was weekly appointed by my Lord Mayor, observed, and all the bakers were obliged to keep their ovens going constantly, on pain of losing the privileges of a freeman of the city of London.

By this means bread was always to be had in plenty,

and as cheap as usual, as I said above; and provisions were never wanting in the markets, even to such a degree that I often wondered at it, and reproached myself with being so timorous and cautious in stirring abroad, when the country people came freely and boldly to market, as if there had been no manner of infection in the city, or danger of catching it.

It was indeed one admirable piece of conduct in the said magistrates that the streets were kept constantly clear, and free from all manner of frightful objects, dead bodies, or any such things as were indecent or unpleasant, unless where anybody fell down suddenly or died in the streets, as I have said above, and these were generally covered with some cloth or blanket, or removed into the next churchyard, till night. All the needful works that carried terror with them, that were both dismal and dangerous, were done in the night; if any diseased bodies were removed, or dead bodies buried, or infected clothes burnt, it was done in the night; and all the bodies which were thrown into the great pits in the several churchyards or burying-grounds, as has been observed, were so removed in the night, and everything was covered and closed before day. So that in the daytime there was not the least signal of the calamity to be seen or heard of, except what was to be observed from the emptiness of the streets, and sometimes from the passionate outcries and lamentations of the people, out at their windows, and from the numbers of houses and shops shut up.

Nor was the silence and emptiness of the streets so much in the city as in the out-parts, except just at one particular time, when, as I have mentioned, the plague came east and spread over all the city. It was indeed a merciful disposition of God, that as the plague began at one end of the town first, as

has been observed at large, so it proceeded progressively to other parts, and did not come on this way, or eastward, till it had spent its fury in the west part of the town; and so, as it came on one way, it abated another. For example, it began at St. Giles's and the Westminster end of the town, and it was in its height in all that part by about the middle of July, viz., in St. Giles-in-the-Fields, St. Andrew's, Holborn, St. Clement Danes, St. Martin-in-the-Fields, and in Westminster. The latter end of July it decreased in those parishes; and coming east, it increased prodigiously in Cripplegate, St. Sepulchre's, St. James's, Clerkenwell, and St. Bride's and Aldersgate. While it was in all these parishes, the city and all the parishes of the Southwark side of the water, and all Stepney, Whitechapel, Aldgate, Wapping and Ratcliff, were very little touched, so that people went about their business unconcerned, carried on their trades, kept open their shops, and conversed freely with one another in all the city, the east and north-east suburbs, and in Southwark, almost as if the plague had not been among us.

Even when the north and north-west suburbs were fully infected, viz., Cripplegate, Clerkenwell, Bishopsgate, and Shoreditch, yet still all the rest were tolerably well. For example, from 25th July to 1st August the bill stood thus of all diseases: —

St. Giles, Cripplegate	554
St. Sepulchre	250
Clerkenwell	103
Bishopsgate	116
Shoreditch	110
Stepney parish	127
Aldgate	92
Whitechapel	104
All the ninety-seven parishes within the walls	228
All the parishes in Southwark	205
Total	1889

So that, in short, there died more that week in the two parishes of Cripplegate and St. Sepulchre by forty-eight than in all the city, all the east suburbs, and all the Southwark parishes put together. This caused the reputation of the city's health to continue all over England, and especially in the counties and markets adjacent, from whence our supply of provisions chiefly came, even much longer than that health itself continued; for when the people came into the streets from the country by Shoreditch and Bishopsgate, or by Old Street and Smithfield, they would see the out-streets empty and the houses and shops shut, and the few people that were stirring there walk in the middle of the streets. But when they came within the city, there things looked better, and the markets and shops were open, and the people walking about the streets as usual, though not quite so many; and this continued till the latter end of August and the beginning of September.

But then the case altered quite; the distemper abated in the west and north-west parishes, and the weight of the infection lay on the city and the eastern suburbs, and the Southwark side, and this in a frightful manner.

Then, indeed, the city began to look dismal, shops to be shut, and the streets desolate. In the High Street, indeed, necessity made people stir abroad on many occasions; and there would be in the middle of the day a pretty many people, but in the mornings and evenings scarce any to be seen, even there, no, not in Cornhill and Cheapside.

These observations of mine were abundantly confirmed by the weekly bills of mortality for those weeks, an abstract of which, as they respect the parishes which I have mentioned, and as they make the calculations I speak of very evident, take as follows.

The weekly bill, which makes out this decrease of the burials in the west and north side of the city, stands thus:—

From the 12th of September to the 19th—	
St. Giles, Cripplegate	456
St. Giles-in-the-Fields	140
Clerkenwell	77
St. Sepulchre	214
St. Leonard, Shoreditch	183
Stepney parish	716
Aldgate	623
Whitechapel	532
In the ninety-seven parishes within the walls	1493
In the eight parishes on Southwark side	1636
Total	6070

Here is a strange change of things indeed, and a sad change it was, and had it held for two months more than it did, very few people would have been left alive. But then such, I say, was the merciful disposition of God, that when it was thus the west and north part, which had been so dreadfully visited at first, grew, as you see, much better; and as the people disappeared here, they began to look abroad again there; and the next week or two altered it still more; that is, more to the encouragement of the other part of the town. For example:—

From the 19th of September to the 26th—	
St. Giles, Cripplegate	277
St. Giles-in-the-Fields	119
Clerkenwell	76
St. Sepulchre	193
St. Leonard, Shoreditch	146
Stepney parish	616
Aldgate	496
Whitechapel	346
In the ninety-seven parishes within the walls	1268
In the eight parishes on Southwark side	1390
Total	4927

From the 26th of September to the 3rd of October —	
St. Giles, Cripplegate	196
St. Giles-in-the-Fields	95
Clerkenwell	48
St. Sepulchre	137
St. Leonard, Shoreditch	128
Stepney parish	674
Aldgate	372
Whitechapel	328
In the ninety-seven parishes within the walls	1149
In the eight parishes on Southwark side	1201
Total	4328

And now the misery of the city, and of the said east and south parts, was complete indeed; for, as you see, the weight of the distemper lay upon those parts, that is to say, the city, the eight parishes over the river, with the parishes of Aldgate, Whitechapel, and Stepney; and this was the time that the bills came up to such a monstrous height as that I mentioned before, and that eight or nine, and, as I believe, ten or twelve thousand a week, died; for it is my settled opinion that they never could come at any just account of the numbers, for the reasons which I have given already.

Nay, one of the most eminent physicians, who has since published in Latin an account of those times, and of his observations, says that in one week there died twelve thousand people, and that particularly there died four thousand in one night; though I do not remember that there ever was any such particular night so remarkably fatal as that such a number died in it. However, all this confirms what I have said above of the uncertainty of the bills of mortality, &c., of which I shall say more hereafter.

And here let me take leave to enter again, though it may seem a repetition of circumstances, into a description of the miserable condition of the city itself, and of those parts where I lived at this particular

time. The city and those other parts, notwithstanding the great numbers of people that were gone into the country, was vastly full of people, and perhaps the fuller because people had for a long time a strong belief that the plague would not come into the city, nor into Southwark, no, nor into Wapping or Ratcliff at all; nay, such was the assurance of the people on that head that many removed from the suburbs on the west and north sides, into those eastern and south sides as for safety, and, as I verily believe, carried the plague amongst them there, perhaps sooner than they would otherwise have had it.

Here also I ought to leave a further remark for the use of posterity, concerning the manner of people's infecting one another; namely, that it was not the sick people only from whom the plague was immediately received by others that were sound, but the well. To explain myself, by the sick people I mean those who were known to be sick, had taken their beds, had been under cure, or had swellings and tumours upon them, and the like; these everybody could beware of; they were either in their beds or in such condition as could not be concealed.

By the well I mean such as had received the contagion, and had it really upon them, and in their blood, yet did not show the consequences of it in their countenances; nay, even were not sensible of it themselves, as many were not for several days. These breathed death in every place, and upon everybody who came near them; nay, their very clothes retained the infection, their hands would infect the things they touched, especially if they were warm and sweaty, and they were generally apt to sweat too.

Now it was impossible to know these people, nor did they sometimes, as I have said, know themselves to be infected. These were the people that so often

dropped down and fainted in the streets; for oftentimes they would go about the streets to the last, till on a sudden they would sweat, grow faint, sit down at a door and die. It is true, finding themselves thus, they would struggle hard to get home to their own doors, or at other times would be just able to go into their houses and die instantly; other times they would go about till they had the very tokens come out upon them, and yet not know it, and would die in an hour or two after they came home, but be well as long as they were abroad. These were the dangerous people; these were the people of whom the well people ought to have been afraid; but then, on the other side, it was impossible to know them.

And this is the reason why it is impossible in a visitation to prevent the spreading of the plague by the utmost human vigilance, viz., that it is impossible to know the infected people from the sound, or that the infected people should perfectly know themselves. I knew a man who conversed freely in London all the season of the plague in 1665, and kept about him an antidote or cordial, on purpose to take when he thought himself in any danger, and he had such a rule to know or have warning of the danger by as indeed I never met with before or since. How far it may be depended on I know not. He had a wound in his leg, and whenever he came among any people that were not sound, and the infection began to affect him, he said he could know it by that signal, viz., that his wound in his leg would smart, and look pale and white; so as soon as ever he felt it smart it was time for him to withdraw, or to take care of himself, taking his drink, which he always carried about him for that purpose. Now it seems he found his wound would smart many times when he was in company with such who thought themselves to be

sound, and who appeared so to one another; but he would presently rise up and say publicly, "Friends, here is somebody in the room that has the plague," and so would immediately break up the company. This was indeed a faithful monitor to all people that the plague is not to be avoided by those that converse promiscuously in a town infected, and people have it when they know it not, and that they likewise give it to others when they know not that they have it themselves; and in this case shutting up the well or removing the sick will not do it, unless they can go back and shut up all those that the sick had conversed with, even before they knew themselves to be sick, and none knows how far to carry that back, or where to stop; for none knows when, or where, or how they may have received the infection, or from whom.

This I take to be the reason which makes so many people talk of the air being corrupted and infected, and that they need not be cautious of whom they converse with, for that the contagion was in the air. I have seen them in strange agitations and surprises on this account. "I have never come near any infected body," says the disturbed person; "I have conversed with none but sound, healthy people, and yet I have gotten the distemper!" "I am sure I am struck from Heaven," says another, and he falls to the serious part. Again, the first goes on exclaiming, "I have come near no infection or any infected person; I am sure it is in the air. We draw in death when we breathe, and therefore 't is the hand of God; there is no withstanding it." And this at last made many people, being hardened to the danger, grow less concerned at it, and less cautious towards the latter end of the time, and when it was come to its height, than they were at first. Then, with a kind of a Turkish predestinarianism, they

would say, if it pleased God to strike them, it was all one whether they went abroad or stayed at home; they could not escape it, and therefore they went boldly about, even into infected houses and infected company; visited sick people; and, in short, lay in the beds with their wives or relations when they were infected. And what was the consequence, but the same that is the consequence in Turkey, and in those countries where they do those things, namely, that they were infected too, and died by hundreds and thousands?

I would be far from lessening the awe of the judgments of God and the reverence to His providence, which ought always to be on our minds on such occasions as these. Doubtless the visitation itself is a stroke from Heaven upon a city, or country, or nation where it falls; a messenger of His vengeance, and a loud call to that nation, or country, or city to humiliation and repentance, according to that of the prophet Jeremiah (xviii. 7, 8): "At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy it; if that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them." Now to prompt due impressions of the awe of God on the minds of men on such occasions, and not to lessen them, it is that I have left those minutes upon record.

I say, therefore, I reflect upon no man for putting the reason of those things upon the immediate hand of God, and the appointment and direction of His providence; nay, on the contrary, there were many wonderful deliverances of persons from infection, and deliverances of persons when infected, which intimate singular and remarkable providence in the particular instances to which they refer, and I esteem my own

deliverance to be one next to miraculous, and do record it with thankfulness.

But when I am speaking of the plague as a distemper arising from natural causes, we must consider it as it was really propagated by natural means; nor is it at all the less a judgment for its being under the conduct of human causes and effects; for, as the Divine Power has formed the whole scheme of nature and maintains nature in its course, so the same Power thinks fit to let His own actings with men, whether of mercy or judgment, to go on in the ordinary course of natural causes, and He is pleased to act by those natural causes as the ordinary means, excepting and reserving to Himself nevertheless a power to act in a supernatural way when He sees occasion. Now 't is evident that in the case of an infection there is no apparent extraordinary occasion for supernatural operation, but the ordinary course of things appears sufficiently armed, and made capable of all the effects that Heaven usually directs by a contagion. Among these causes and effects, this of the secret conveyance of infection, imperceptible and unavoidable, is more than sufficient to execute the fierceness of Divine vengeance, without putting it upon supernaturals and miracle.

The acute penetrating nature of the disease itself was such, and the infection was received so imperceptibly, that the most exact caution could not secure us while in the place. But I must be allowed to believe — and I have so many examples fresh in my memory to convince me of it, that I think none can resist their evidence — I say, I must be allowed to believe that no one in this whole nation ever received the sickness or infection but who received it in the ordinary way of infection from somebody, or the clothes, or touch, or stench of somebody that was infected before.

The manner of its coming first to London proves this also, viz., by goods brought over from Holland, and brought thither from the Levant, the first breaking of it out in a house in Long Acre where those goods were carried and first opened, its spreading from that house to other houses by the visible unwary conversing with those who were sick, and the infecting the parish officers who were employed about the persons dead, and the like. These are known authorities for this great foundation point, that it went on and proceeded from person to person and from house to house, and no otherwise. In the first house that was infected there died four persons. A neighbour, hearing the mistress of the first house was sick, went to visit her, and went home and gave the distemper to her family, and died, and all her household. A minister, called to pray with the first sick person in the second house, was said to sicken immediately, and die with several more in his house. Then the physicians began to consider, for they did not at first dream of a general contagion. But the physicians being sent to inspect the bodies, they assured the people that it was neither more or less than the plague, with all its terrifying particulars, and that it threatened an universal infection, so many people having already conversed with the sick or distempered, and having, as might be supposed, received infection from them, that it would be impossible to put a stop to it.

Here the opinion of the physicians agreed with my observation afterwards, namely, that the danger was spreading insensibly, for the sick could infect none but those that came within reach of the sick person, but that one man who may have really received the infection and knows it not, but goes abroad and about as a sound person, may give the plague to a thousand people, and they to greater numbers in proportion, and neither the person giv-

ing the infection or the persons receiving it know anything of it, and perhaps not feel the effects of it for several days after.

For example, many persons in the time of this visitation never perceived that they were infected till they found, to their unspeakable surprise, the tokens come out upon them; after which they seldom lived six hours, for those spots they called the tokens were really gangrene spots, or mortified flesh in small knobs as broad as a little silver penny, and hard as a piece of callus or horn; so that, when the disease was come up to that length, there was nothing could follow but certain death, and yet, as I said, they knew nothing of their being infected, nor found themselves so much as out of order, till those mortal marks were upon them. But everybody must allow that they were infected in a high degree before, and must have been so some time, and consequently their breath, their sweat, their very clothes, were contagious for many days before.

This occasioned a vast variety of cases, which physicians would have much more opportunity to remember than I; but some came within the compass of my observation or hearing, of which I shall name a few.

A certain citizen who had lived safe and untouched till the month of September, when the weight of the distemper lay more in the city than it had done before, was mighty cheerful, and something too bold, as I think it was, in his talk of how secure he was, how cautious he had been, and how he had never come near any sick body. Says another citizen, a neighbour of his, to him one day, "Do not be too confident, Mr ——; it is hard to say who is sick and who is well, for we see men alive and well to outward appearance one hour, and dead the next." "That is true," says the first man, for he was not a

man presumptuously secure, but had escaped a long while, and men, as I said above, especially in the city, began to be over-easy upon that score. "That is true," says he; "I do not think myself secure, but I hope I have not been in company with any person that there has been any danger in." "No?" says his neighbour. "Was not you at the Bull Head Tavern in Gracechurch Street with Mr. —— the night before last?" "Yes," says the first, "I was; but there was nobody there that we had any reason to think dangerous." Upon which his neighbour said no more, being unwilling to surprise him; but this made him more inquisitive, and as his neighbour appeared backward, he was the more impatient, and in a kind of warmth says he aloud, "Why, he is not dead, is he?" Upon which his neighbour still was silent, but cast up his eyes and said something to himself; at which the first citizen turned pale, and said no more but this, "Then I am a dead man too," and went home immediately and sent for a neighbouring apothecary to give him something preventive, for he had not yet found himself ill; but the apothecary, opening his breast, fetched a sigh, and said no more but this, "Look up to God;" and the man died in a few hours.

Now let any man judge from a case like this if it is possible for the regulations of magistrates, either by shutting up the sick or removing them, to stop an infection which spreads itself from man to man, even while they are perfectly well and insensible of its approach, and may be so for many days.

It may be proper to ask here how long it may be supposed men might have the seeds of the contagion in them before it discovered itself in this fatal manner, and how long they might go about seemingly whole, and yet be contagious to all those that came near them. I believe the most experienced physicians

cannot answer this question directly any more than I can; and something an ordinary observer may take notice of, which may pass their observation. The opinion of physicians abroad seems to be that it may lie dormant in the spirits, or in the blood-vessels, a very considerable time. Why else do they exact a quarantine of those who come into their harbours and ports from suspected places? Forty days is, one would think, too long for nature to struggle with such an enemy as this, and not conquer it or yield to it. But I could not think, by my own observation, that they can be infected so as to be contagious to others above fifteen or sixteen days at furthest; and on that score it was, that when a house was shut up in the city, and any one had died of the plague, but nobody appeared to be ill in the family for sixteen or eighteen days after, they were not so strict but that they would connive at their going privately abroad; nor would people be much afraid of them afterward, but rather think they were fortified the better, having not been vulnerable when the enemy was in their own house; but we sometimes found it had lain much longer concealed.

Upon the foot of all these observations I must say, that though Providence seemed to direct my conduct to be otherwise, yet it is my opinion, and I must leave it as a prescription, viz., that the best physic against the plague is to run away from it. I know people encourage themselves by saying God is able to keep us in the midst of danger, and able to overtake us when we think ourselves out of danger; and this kept thousands in the town, whose carcasses went into the great pits by cartloads, and who, if they had fled from the danger, had, I believe, been safe from the disaster; at least 't is probable they had been safe.

And were this very fundamental only duly con-

sidered by the people on any future occasion of this or the like nature, I am persuaded it would put them upon quite different measures for managing the people from those that they took in 1665, or than any that have been taken abroad that I have heard of. In a word, they would consider of separating the people into smaller bodies, and removing them in time farther from one another, and not let such a contagion as this, which is indeed chiefly dangerous to collected bodies of people, find a million of people in a body together, as was very near the case before, and would certainly be the case if it should ever appear again.

The plague, like a great fire, if a few houses only are contiguous where it happens, can only burn a few houses; or if it begins in a single, or, as we call it, a lone house, can only burn that lone house where it begins. But if it begins in a close-built town or city and gets a head, there its fury increases, it rages over the whole place, and consumes all it can reach.

I could propose many schemes on the foot of which the government of this city, if ever they should be under the apprehensions of such another enemy (God forbid they should), might ease themselves of the greatest part of the dangerous people that belong to them; I mean such as the begging, starving, labouring poor, and among them chiefly those who, in case of a siege, are called the useless mouths, who being then prudently and to their own advantage disposed of, and the wealthy inhabitants disposing of themselves, and of their servants and children, the city and its adjacent parts would be so effectually evacuated that there would not be above a tenth part of its people left together for the disease to take hold upon. But suppose them to be a fifth part, and that two hundred and fifty thousand people were left, and if it did seize upon them, they would, by their living

so much at large, be much better prepared to defend themselves against the infection, and be less liable to the effects of it than if the same number of people lived close together in one smaller city, such as Dublin or Amsterdam, or the like.

It is true hundreds, yea, thousands of families fled away at this last plague, but then, of them, many fled too late, and not only died in their flight, but carried the distemper with them into the countries where they went, and infected those whom they went among for safety; which confounded the thing, and made that be a propagation of the distemper which was the best means to prevent it; and this too is an evidence of it, and brings me back to what I only hinted at before, but must speak more fully to here, namely, that men went about apparently well many days after they had the taint of the disease in their vitals, and after their spirits were so seized as that they could never escape it, and that all the while they did so they were dangerous to others; I say, this proves that so it was; for such people infected the very towns they went through, as well as the families they went among; and it was by that means that almost all the great towns in England had the distemper among them, more or less, and always they would tell you such a Londoner or such a Londoner brought it down.

It must not be omitted that when I speak of those people who were really thus dangerous, I suppose them to be utterly ignorant of their own condition; for if they really knew their circumstances to be such as indeed they were, they must have been a kind of wilful murderers if they would have gone abroad among healthy people, and it would have verified indeed the suggestion which I mentioned above, and which I thought seemed untrue, viz., that the infected people were utterly careless as to giving the

infection to others, and rather forward to do it than not; and I believe it was partly from this very thing that they raised that suggestion, which I hope was not really true in fact.

I confess no particular case is sufficient to prove a general, but I could name several people within the knowledge of some of their neighbours and families yet living who showed the contrary to an extreme. One man, a master of a family in my neighbourhood, having had the distemper, he thought he had it given him by a poor workman whom he employed, and whom he went to his house to see, or went for some work that he wanted to have finished, and he had some apprehensions even while he was at the poor workman's door, but did not discover it fully; but the next day it discovered itself, and he was taken very ill, upon which he immediately caused himself to be carried into an outbuilding which he had in his yard, and where there was a chamber over a workhouse, the man being a brazier. Here he lay, and here he died, and would be tended by none of his neighbours, but by a nurse from abroad; and would not suffer his wife, nor children, nor servants to come up into the room, lest they should be infected, but sent them his blessing and prayers for them by the nurse, who spoke it to them at a distance, and all this for fear of giving them the distemper, and without which he knew, as they were kept up, they could not have it.

And here I must observe also that the plague, as I suppose all distempers do, operated in a different manner on differing constitutions; some were immediately overwhelmed with it, and it came to violent fevers, vomitings, insufferable headaches, pains in the back, and so up to ravings and ragings with those pains; others with swellings and tumours in the neck or groin, or armpits, which till they could

be broke put them into insufferable agonies and torment; while others, as I have observed, were silently infected, the fever preying upon their spirits insensibly, and they seeing little of it till they fell into swooning, and faintings, and death without pain.

I am not physician enough to enter into the particular reasons and manner of these differing effects of one and the same distemper, and of its differing operation in several bodies; nor is it my business here to record the observations which I really made, because the doctors themselves have done that part much more effectually than I can do, and because my opinion may in some things differ from theirs. I am only relating what I know, or have heard, or believe of the particular cases, and what fell within the compass of my view, and the different nature of the infection, as it appeared in the particular cases which I have related; but this may be added too, that though the former sort of those cases, namely, those openly visited, were the worst for themselves as to pain — I mean those that had such fevers, vomitings, headaches, pains, and swellings, because they died in such a dreadful manner — yet the latter had the worst state of the disease; for in the former they frequently recovered, especially if the swellings broke, but the latter was inevitable death; no cure, no help could be possible, nothing could follow but death.

And it was worse also to others, because, as above, it secretly, and unperceived by others, or by themselves, communicated death to those they conversed with, the penetrating poison insinuating itself into their blood in a manner which it is impossible to describe, or indeed conceive.

This infecting and being infected without so much as its being known to either person is evident from

two sorts of cases which frequently happened at that time; and there is hardly anybody living who was in London during the infection but must have known several of the cases of both sorts.

1. Fathers and mothers have gone about as if they had been well, and have believed themselves to be so, till they have insensibly infected and been the destruction of their whole families, which they would have been far from doing if they had the least apprehensions of their being unsound and dangerous themselves. A family, whose story I have heard, was thus infected by the father; and the distemper began to appear upon some of them even before he found it upon himself. But searching more narrowly, it appeared he had been affected some time, and as soon as he found that his family had been poisoned by himself he went distracted, and would have laid violent hands upon himself, but was kept from that by those who looked to him, and in a few days died.

2. The other particular is, that many people having been well to the best of their own judgment, or by the best observation which they could make of themselves for several days, and only finding a decay of appetite, or a light sickness upon their stomachs; nay, some whose appetite has been strong, and even craving, and only a light pain in their heads, have sent for physicians to know what ailed them, and have been found, to their great surprise, at the brink of death, the tokens upon them, or the plague grown up to an incurable height.

It was very sad to reflect how such a person as this last mentioned above had been a walking destroyer perhaps for a week or a fortnight before that; how he had ruined those that he would have hazarded his life to save, and had been breathing death upon them, even perhaps in his tender kissing and embracings of his own children. Yet thus certainly it was,

and often has been, and I could give many particular cases where it has been so. If then the blow is thus insensibly striking; if the arrow flies thus unseen, and cannot be discovered, to what purpose are all the schemes for shutting up or removing the sick people? Those schemes cannot take place but upon those that appear to be sick, or to be infected; whereas there are among them at the same time thousands of people who seem to be well, but are all that while carrying death with them into all companies which they come into.

This frequently puzzled our physicians, and especially the apothecaries and surgeons, who knew not how to discover the sick from the sound; they all allowed that it was really so, that many people had the plague in their very blood, and preying upon their spirits, and were in themselves but walking putrefied carcasses, whose breath was infectious and their sweat poison, and yet were as well to look on as other people, and even knew it not themselves; I say, they all allowed that it was really true in fact, but they knew not how to propose a discovery.

My friend Dr. Heath was of opinion that it might be known by the smell of their breath; but then, as he said, who durst smell to that breath for his information? since, to know it, he must draw the stench of the plague up into his own brain, in order to distinguish the smell! I have heard it was the opinion of others that it might be distinguished by the party's breathing upon a piece of glass, where, the breath condensing, there might living creatures be seen by a microscope, of strange, monstrous, and frightful shapes, such as dragons, snakes, serpents, and devils, horrible to behold. But this I very much question the truth of, and we had no microscopes at that time, as I remember, to make the experiment with.

It was the opinion also of another learned man, that the breath of such a person would poison and instantly kill a bird; not only a small bird, but even a cock or hen, and that, if it did not immediately kill the latter, it would cause them to be roupy, as they call it; particularly that if they had laid any eggs at any time, they would be all rotten. But those are opinions which I never found supported by any experiments, or heard of others that had seen it; so I leave them as I find them, only with this remark, namely, that I think the probabilities are very strong for them.

Some have proposed that such persons should breathe hard upon warm water, and that they would leave an unusual scum upon it, or upon several other things, especially such as are of a glutinous substance and are apt to receive a scum and support it.

But from the whole I found that the nature of this contagion was such that it was impossible to discover it at all, or to prevent its spreading from one to another by any human skill.

Here was indeed one difficulty which I could never thoroughly get over to this time, and which there is but one way of answering that I know of, and it is this, viz., the first person that died of the plague was on December 20, or thereabouts, 1664, and in or about Long Acre; whence the first person had the infection was generally said to be, from a parcel of silks imported from Holland, and first opened in that house.

But after this we heard no more of any person dying of the plague, or of the distemper being in that place, till the 9th of February, which was about seven weeks after, and then one more was buried out of the same house. Then it was hushed, and we were perfectly easy as to the public for a great while; for there were no more entered in the weekly

bill to be dead of the plague till the 22nd of April, when there was two more buried, not out of the same house, but out of the same street; and, as near as I can remember, it was out of the next house to the first. This was nine weeks asunder, and after this we had no more till a fortnight, and then it broke out in several streets, and spread every way. Now the question seems to lie thus: Where lay the seeds of the infection all this while? How came it to stop so long, and not stop any longer? Either the distemper did not come immediately by contagion from body to body, or if it did, then a body may be capable to continue infected without the disease discovering itself many days, nay, weeks together; even not a quarantine of days only, but soixantine; not only forty days, but sixty days or longer.

It is true there was, as I observed at first, and is well known to many yet living, a very cold winter and a long frost, which continued three months, and this, the doctors say, might check the infection; but then the learned must allow me to say, that if, according to their notion, the disease was, as I may say, only frozen up, it would, like a frozen river, have returned to its usual force and current when it thawed, whereas the principal recess of this infection, which was from February to April, was after the frost was broken and the weather mild and warm.

But there is another way of solving all this difficulty, which I think my own remembrance of the thing will supply; and that is, the fact is not granted, namely, that there died none in those long intervals, viz., from the 20th of December to the 9th of February, and from thence to the 22nd of April. The weekly bills are the only evidence on the other side, and those bills were not of credit enough, at least with me, to support an hypothesis or determine a question of such importance as this; for it was our

received opinion at that time, and I believe upon very good grounds, that the fraud lay in the parish officers, searchers, and persons appointed to give account of the dead, and what diseases they died of; and as people were very loth at first to have the neighbours believe their houses were infected, so they gave money to procure, or otherwise procured, the dead persons to be returned as dying of other distempers; and this I know was practised afterwards in many places, I believe I might say in all places where the distemper came, as will be seen by the vast increase of the numbers placed in the weekly bills under other articles of diseases during the time of the infection. For example, in the months of July and August, when the plague was coming on to its highest pitch, it was very ordinary to have from a thousand to twelve hundred, nay, to almost fifteen hundred a week of other distempers. Not that the numbers of those distempers were really increased to such a degree, but the great number of families and houses where really the infection was, obtained the favour to have their dead be returned of other distempers, to prevent the shutting up their houses. For example: —

Dead of other diseases beside the plague —

From the	18th July	to the	25th	942
"	25th July	"	1st August	1004
"	1st August	"	8th	1213
"	8th	"	15th	1439
"	15th	"	22nd	1331
"	22nd	"	29th	1394
"	29th	"	5th September	1264
"	5th September	to the	12th	1056
"	12th	"	19th	1132
"	19th	"	26th	927

Now it was not doubted but the greatest part of these, or a great part of them, were dead of the

plague, but the officers were prevailed with to return them as above, and the numbers of some particular articles of distempers discovered is as follows:—

	Aug. 1 to 8.	Aug. 8 to 15.	Aug. 15 to 22.	Aug. 22 to 29.	Aug. 29 to Sept 5.	Sept. 5 to 12	Sept. 12 to 19	Sept. 19 to 26.
Fever	314	353	348	383	364	332	309	268
Spotted Fever .	174	190	166	165	157	97	101	65
Surfeit	85	87	74	99	68	45	49	36
Teeth	90	113	111	133	138	128	121	112
	663	743	699	780	727	602	580	481

There were several other articles which bore a proportion to these, and which, it is easy to perceive, were increased on the same account, as aged, consumptions, vomitings, imposthumes, gripes, and the like, many of which were not doubted to be infected people; but as it was of the utmost consequence to families not to be known to be infected, if it was possible to avoid it, so they took all the measures they could to have it not believed, and if any died in their houses, to get them returned to the examiners, and by the searchers, as having died of other distempers.

This, I say, will account for the long interval which, as I have said, was between the dying of the first persons that were returned in the bill to be dead of the plague and the time when the distemper spread openly and could not be concealed.

Besides, the weekly bills themselves at that time evidently discover this truth; for, while there was no mention of the plague, and no increase after it

had been mentioned, yet it was apparent that there was an increase of those distempers which bordered nearest upon it; for example, there were eight, twelve, seventeen of the spotted fever in a week, when there were none, or but very few, of the plague; whereas before, one, three, or four were the ordinary weekly numbers of that distemper. Likewise, as I observed before, the burials increased weekly in that particular parish and the parishes adjacent more than in any other parish, although there were none set down of the plague; all which tell us, that the infection was handed on, and the succession of the distemper really preserved, though it seemed to us at that time to be ceased, and to come again in a manner surprising.

It might be, also, that the infection might remain in other parts of the same parcel of goods which at first it came in, and which might not be perhaps opened, or at least not fully, or in the clothes of the first infected person; for I cannot think that anybody could be seized with the contagion in a fatal and mortal degree for nine weeks together, and support his state of health so well as even not to discover it to themselves; yet if it were so, the argument is the stronger in favour of what I am saying, namely, that the infection is retained in bodies apparently well, and conveyed from them to those they converse with, while it is known to neither the one nor the other.

Great were the confusions at that time upon this very account, and when people began to be convinced that the infection was received in this surprising manner from persons apparently well, they began to be exceeding shy and jealous of every one that came near them. Once, on a public day, whether a Sabbath-day or not I do not remember, in Aldgate Church, in a pew full of people, on a sudden one

fancied she smelt an ill smell. Immediately she fancies the plague was in the pew, whispers her notion or suspicion to the next, then rises and goes out of the pew. It immediately took with the next, and so to them all; and every one of them, and of the two or three adjoining pews, got up and went out of the church, nobody knowing what it was offended them, or from whom.

This immediately filled everybody's mouths with one preparation or other, such as the old women directed, and some perhaps as physicians directed, in order to prevent infection by the breath of others, insomuch that if we came to go into a church when it was anything full of people, there would be such a mixture of smells at the entrance that it was much more strong, though perhaps not so wholesome, than if you were going into an apothecary's or druggist's shop. In a word, the whole church was like a smelling-bottle; in one corner it was all perfumes; in another, aromatics, balsamics, and variety of drugs and herbs; in another, salts and spirits, as every one was furnished for their own preservation. Yet I observed that after people were possessed, as I have said, with the belief, or rather assurance, of the infection being thus carried on by persons apparently in health, the churches and meeting-houses were much thinner of people than at other times before that they used to be. For this is to be said of the people of London, that during the whole time of the pestilence the churches or meetings were never wholly shut up, nor did the people decline coming out to the public worship of God, except only in some parishes when the violence of the distemper was more particularly in that parish at that time, and even then no longer than it continued to be so.

Indeed nothing was more strange than to see with what courage the people went to the public service

of God even at that time, when they were afraid to stir out of their own houses upon any other occasion; this, I mean, before the time of desperation, which I have mentioned already. This was a proof of the exceeding populousness of the city at the time of the infection, notwithstanding the great numbers that were gone into the country at the first alarm, and that fled out into the forests and woods when they were further terrified with the extraordinary increase of it. For when we came to see the crowds and throngs of people which appeared on the Sabbath-days at the churches, and especially in those parts of the town where the plague was abated, or where it was not yet come to its height, it was amazing. But of this I shall speak again presently. I return in the meantime to the article of infecting one another at first, before people came to right notions of the infection, and of infecting one another. People were only shy of those that were really sick, a man with a cap upon his head, or with clothes round his neck, which was the case of those that had swellings there. Such was indeed frightful; but when we saw a gentleman dressed, with his band on and his gloves in his hand, his hat upon his head, and his hair combed, of such we had not the least apprehensions, and people conversed a great while freely, especially with their neighbours and such as they knew. But when the physicians assured us that the danger was as well from the sound, that is, the seemingly sound, as the sick, and that those people who thought themselves entirely free were oftentimes the most fatal, and that it came to be generally understood that people were sensible of it, and of the reason of it; then, I say, they began to be jealous of everybody, and a vast number of people locked themselves up, so as not to come abroad into any company at all, nor suffer any that had been abroad in promiscuous

company to come into their houses, or near them, at least not so near them as to be within the reach of their breath or of any smell from them; and when they were obliged to converse at a distance with strangers, they would always have preservatives in their mouths and about their clothes to repel and keep off the infection.

It must be acknowledged that when people began to use these cautions they were less exposed to danger, and the infection did not break into such houses so furiously as it did into others before; and thousands of families were preserved, speaking with due reserve to the direction of Divine Providence, by that means.

But it was impossible to beat anything into the heads of the poor. They went on with the usual impetuosity of their tempers, full of outcries and lamentations when taken, but madly careless of themselves, foolhardy and obstinate, while they were well. Where they could get employment they pushed into any kind of business, the most dangerous and the most liable to infection; and if they were spoken to, their answer would be, "I must trust to God for that; if I am taken, then I am provided for, and there is an end of me," and the like. Or thus, "Why, what must I do? I can't starve. I had as good have the plague as perish for want. I have no work; what could I do? I must do this or beg." Suppose it was burying the dead, or attending the sick, or watching infected houses, which were all terrible hazards; but their tale was generally the same. It is true, necessity was a very justifiable, warrantable plea, and nothing could be better; but their way of talk was much the same where the necessities were not the same. This adventurous conduct of the poor was that which brought the plague among them in a most furious manner, and

this, joined to the distress of their circumstances when taken, was the reason why they died so by heaps; for I cannot say I could observe one jot of better husbandry among them, I mean the labouring poor, while they were all well and getting money than there was before, but as lavish, as extravagant, and as thoughtless for to-morrow as ever; so that when they came to be taken sick they were immediately in the utmost distress, as well for want as for sickness, as well for lack of food as lack of health.

This misery of the poor I had many occasions to be an eye-witness of, and sometimes also of the charitable assistance that some pious people daily gave to such, sending them relief and supplies both of food, physic, and other help, as they found they wanted; and indeed it is a debt of justice due to the temper of the people of that day to take notice here, that not only great sums, very great sums of money were charitably sent to the Lord Mayor and aldermen for the assistance and support of the poor distempered people, but abundance of private people daily distributed large sums of money for their relief, and sent people about to inquire into the condition of particular distressed and visited families, and relieved them; nay, some pious ladies were so transported with zeal in so good a work, and so confident in the protection of Providence in discharge of the great duty of charity, that they went about in person distributing alms to the poor, and even visiting poor families, though sick and infected, in their very houses, appointing nurses to attend those that wanted attending, and ordering apothecaries and surgeons, the first to supply them with drugs or plaisters, and such things as they wanted; and the last to lance and dress the swellings and tumours, where such were wanting; giving their blessing to the poor in sub-

stantial relief to them, as well as hearty prayers for them.

I will not undertake to say, as some do, that none of those charitable people were suffered to fall under the calamity itself; but this I may say, that I never knew any one of them that miscarried, which I mention for the encouragement of others in case of the like distress; and doubtless, if they that give to the poor lend to the Lord, and He will repay them, those that hazard their lives to give to the poor, and to comfort and assist the poor in such a misery as this, may hope to be protected in the work.

Nor was this charity so extraordinary eminent only in a few, but (for I cannot lightly quit this point) the charity of the rich, as well in the city and suburbs as from the country, was so great that, in a word, a prodigious number of people who must otherwise inevitably have perished for want as well as sickness were supported and subsisted by it; and though I could never, nor I believe any one else, come to a full knowledge of what was so contributed, yet I do believe that, as I heard one say that was a critical observer of that part, there was not only many thousand pounds contributed, but many hundred thousand pounds, to the relief of the poor of this distressed, afflicted city; nay, one man affirmed to me that he could reckon up above one hundred thousand pounds a week, which was distributed by the church wardens at the several parish vestries by the Lord Mayor and aldermen in the several wards and precincts, and by the particular direction of the court and of the justices respectively in the parts where they resided, over and above the private charity distributed by pious hands in the manner I speak of; and this continued for many weeks together.

I confess this is a very great sum; but if it be true that there was distributed in the parish of Cripple-

gate only, £17,800 in one week to the relief of the poor, as I heard reported, and which I really believe was true, the other may not be improbable.

It was doubtless to be reckoned among the many signal good providences which attended this great city, and of which there were many other worth recording, — I say, this was a very remarkable one, that it pleased God thus to move the hearts of the people in all parts of the kingdom so cheerfully to contribute to the relief and support of the poor at London, the good consequences of which were felt many ways, and particularly in preserving the lives and recovering the health of so many thousands, and keeping so many thousands of families from perishing and starving.

And now I am talking of the merciful disposition of Providence in this time of calamity, I cannot but mention again, though I have spoken several times of it already on other accounts, I mean that of the progression of the distemper; how it began at one end of the town, and proceeded gradually and slowly from one part to another, and like a dark cloud that passes over our heads, which, as it thickens and overcasts the air at one end, clears up at the other end; so, while the plague went on raging from west to east, as it went forwards east, it abated in the west, by which means those parts of the town which were not seized, or who were left, and where it had spent its fury, were (as it were) spared to help and assist the other; whereas, had the distemper spread itself over the whole city and suburbs at once, raging in all places alike, as it has done since in some places abroad, the whole body of the people must have been overwhelmed, and there would have died twenty thousand a day, as they say there did at Naples; nor would the people have been able to have helped or assisted one another.

For it must be observed that where the plague was in its full force, there indeed the people were very miserable, and the consternation was inexpressible. But a little before it reached even to that place, or presently after it was gone, they were quite another sort of people; and I cannot but acknowledge that there was too much of that common temper of mankind to be found among us all at that time, namely, to forget the deliverance when the danger is past. But I shall come to speak of that part again.

It must not be forgot here to take some notice of the state of trade during the time of this common calamity, and this with respect to foreign trade, as also to our home trade.

As to foreign trade, there needs little to be said. The trading nations of Europe were all afraid of us; no port of France, or Holland, or Spain, or Italy would admit our ships or correspond with us; indeed we stood on ill terms with the Dutch, and were in a furious war with them, but though in a bad condition to fight abroad, who had such dreadful enemies to struggle with at home.

Our merchants were accordingly at a full stop; their ships could go nowhere, that is to say, to no place abroad; their manufactures and merchandise, that is to say, of our growth, would not be touched abroad. They were as much afraid of our goods as they were of our people; and indeed they had reason, for our woollen manufactures are as retentive of infection as human bodies, and if packed up by persons infected, would receive the infection, and be as dangerous to touch as a man would be that was infected; and therefore, when any English vessel arrived in foreign countries, if they did take the goods on shore, they always caused the bales to be opened and aired in places appointed for that purpose. But from London they would not suffer them to come

into port, much less to unlade their goods, upon any terms whatever; and this strictness was especially used with them in Spain and Italy. In Turkey, and the islands of the Arches indeed, as they are called, as well those belonging to the Turks as to the Venetians, they were not so very rigid. In the first there was no obstruction at all; and four ships which were then in the river loading for Italy, that is, for Leghorn and Naples, being denied product, as they call it, went on to Turkey, and were freely admitted to unlade their cargo without any difficulty, only that when they arrived there, some of their cargo was not fit for sale in that country, and other parts of it being consigned to merchants at Leghorn, the captains of the ships had no right nor any orders to dispose of the goods; so that great inconveniences followed to the merchants. But this was nothing but what the necessity of affairs required, and the merchants at Leghorn and Naples having notice given them, sent again from thence to take care of the effects, which were particularly consigned to those ports, and to bring back in other ships such as were improper for the markets at Smyrna and Scanderoon.

The inconveniences in Spain and Portugal were still greater, for they would by no means suffer our ships, especially those from London, to come into any of their ports, much less to unlade. There was a report that one of our ships having by stealth delivered her cargo, among which was some bales of English cloth, cotton, kerseys, and such-like goods, the Spaniards caused all the goods to be burned, and punished the men with death who were concerned in carrying them on shore. This, I believe, was in part true, though I do not affirm it; but it is not at all unlikely, seeing the danger was really very great, the infection being so violent in London.

I heard, likewise, that the plague was carried into those countries by some of our ships, and particularly to the port of Faro, in the kingdom of Algarve, belonging to the King of Portugal, and that several persons died of it there, but it was not confirmed.

On the other hand, though the Spaniards and Portuguese were so shy of us, it is most certain that the plague, as has been said, keeping at first much at that end of the town next Westminster, the merchandising part of the town, such as the city and the water-side, was perfectly sound till at least the beginning of July, and the ships in the river till the beginning of August; for to the 1st of July there had died but seven within the whole city, and but sixty within the liberties, but one in all the parishes of Stepney, Aldgate, and Whitechapel, and but two in all the eight parishes of Southwark. But it was the same thing abroad, for the bad news was gone over the whole world that the city of London was infected with the plague, and there was no inquiring there how the infection proceeded, or at which part of the town it was begun or was reached to.

Besides, after it began to spread it increased so fast, and the bills grew so high all on a sudden, that it was to no purpose to lessen the report of it, or endeavour to make the people abroad think it better than it was; the account which the weekly bills gave in was sufficient; and that there died two thousand to three or four thousand a week was sufficient to alarm the whole trading part of the world, and the following time being so dreadful also in the very city itself put the whole world, I say, upon their guard against it.

You may be sure, also, that the report of these things lost nothing in the carriage. The plague was itself very terrible, and the distress of the people very great, as you may observe of what I have said.

But the rumour was infinitely greater, and it must not be wondered that our friends abroad, as my brother's correspondents in particular were told there, namely, in Portugal and Italy, where he chiefly traded, [said] that in London there died twenty thousand in a week; that the dead bodies lay unburied by heaps; that the living were not sufficient to bury the dead or the sound to look after the sick; that all the kingdom was infected likewise, so that it was an universal malady, such as was never heard of in those parts of the world; and they could hardly believe us when we gave them an account how things really were, and how there was not above one-tenth part of the people dead; that there was 500,000 left that lived all the time in the town; that now the people began to walk the streets again, and those who were fled to return, there was no miss of the usual throng of people in the streets, except as every family might miss their relations and neighbours, and the like. I say they could not believe these things; and if inquiry were now to be made in Naples, or in other cities on the coast of Italy, they would tell you that there was a dreadful infection in London so many years ago, in which, as above, there died twenty thousand in a week, &c., just as we have had it reported in London that there was a plague in the city of Naples in the year 1656, in which there died 20,000 people in a day, of which I have had very good satisfaction that it was utterly false.

But these extravagant reports were very prejudicial to our trade, as well as unjust and injurious in themselves, for it was a long time after the plague was quite over before our trade could recover itself in those parts of the world; and the Flemings and Dutch, but especially the last, made very great advantages of it, having all the market to themselves, and even buying our manufactures in several parts

of England where the plague was not, and carrying them to Holland and Flanders, and from thence transporting them to Spain and to Italy, as if they had been of their own making.

But they were detected sometimes and punished, that is to say, their goods confiscated, and ships also; for if it was true that our manufactures as well as our people were infected, and that it was dangerous to touch or to open and receive the smell of them, then those people ran the hazard by that clandestine trade, not only of carrying the contagion into their own country, but also of infecting the nations to whom they traded with those goods, which, considering how many lives might be lost in consequence of such an action, must be a trade that no men of conscience could suffer themselves to be concerned in.

I do not take upon me to say that any harm was done, I mean of that kind, by those people. But I doubt I need not make any such proviso in the case of our own country; for either by our people of London, or by the commerce which made their conversing with all sorts of people in every county and of every considerable town necessary, I say, by this means the plague was first or last spread all over the kingdom, as well in London as in all the cities and great towns, especially in the trading manufacturing towns and seaports; so that, first or last, all the considerable places in England were visited more or less, and the kingdom of Ireland in some places, but not so universally. How it fared with the people in Scotland I had no opportunity to inquire.

It is to be observed that while the plague continued so violent in London, the outports, as they are called, enjoyed a very great trade, especially to the adjacent countries and to our own plantations. For example, the towns of Colchester, Yarmouth, and Hull, on that side of England, exported to

Holland and Hamburg the manufactures of the adjacent counties for several months after the trade with London was, as it were, entirely shut up; likewise the cities of Bristol and Exeter, with the port of Plymouth, had the like advantage to Spain, to the Canaries, to Guinea, and to the West Indies, and particularly to Ireland; but as the plague spread itself every way after it had been in London to such a degree as it was in August and September, so all, or most of those cities and towns, were infected first or last, and then trade was, as it were, under a general embargo, or at a full stop, as I shall observe further when I speak of our home trade.

One thing, however, must be observed, that as to ships coming in from abroad, as many you may be sure did, some who were out in all parts of the world a considerable while before, and some who when they went out knew nothing of an infection, or at least of one so terrible; these came up the river boldly, and delivered their cargoes as they were obliged to do, except just in the two months of August and September, when the weight of the infection lying, as I may say, all below Bridge, nobody durst appear in business for a while. But as this continued but for a few weeks, the homeward-bound ships, especially such whose cargoes were not liable to spoil, came to an anchor for a time, short of the Pool,[1] or fresh-water part of the river, even as low as the river Medway, where several of them ran in, and others lay at the Nore, and in the Hope below Gravesend. So that by the latter end of October there was a very great fleet of homeward-bound ships to come up, such as the like had not been known for many years.

[1] That part of the river where the ships lie up when they come home is called the Pool, and takes in all the river on both sides of the water, from the Tower to Cuckold's Point and Limehouse.

Two particular trades were carried on by water-carriage all the while of the infection, and that with little or no interruption, very much to the advantage and comfort of the poor distressed people of the city, and those were the coasting trade for corn and the Newcastle trade for coals.

The first of these was particularly carried on by small vessels from the port of Hull and other places on the Humber, by which great quantities of corn were brought in from Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. The other part of this corn-trade was from Lynn, in Norfolk, from Wells and Burnham, and from Yarmouth, all in the same county; and the third branch was from the river Medway, and from Milton, Feversham, Margate, and Sandwich, and all the other little places and ports round the coast of Kent and Essex.

There was also a very good trade from the coast of Suffolk with corn, butter, and cheese; these vessels kept a constant course of trade, and without interruption came up to that market known still by the name of Bear Key, where they supplied the city plentifully with corn when land-carriage began to fail, and when the people began to be sick of coming from many places in the country.

This also was, much of it, owing to the prudence and conduct of the Lord Mayor, who took such care to keep the masters and seamen from danger when they came up, causing their corn to be bought off at any time they wanted a market (which, however, was very seldom), and causing the corn-factors immediately to unlade and deliver the vessels loaden with corn, that they had very little occasion to come out of their ships or vessels, the money being always carried on board to them, and put into a pail of vinegar before it was carried.

The second trade was that of coals from Newcastle-

upon-Tyne, without which the city would have been greatly distressed; for not in the streets only, but in private houses and families, great quantities of coals were then burnt, even all the summer long, and when the weather was hottest, which was done by the advice of the physicians. Some indeed opposed it, and insisted that to keep the houses and rooms hot was a means to propagate the distemper, which was a fermentation and heat already in the blood; that it was known to spread and increase in hot weather, and abate in cold; and therefore they alleged that all contagious distempers are the worse for heat, because the contagion was nourished and gained strength in hot weather, and was, as it were, propagated in heat.

Others said they granted that heat in the climate might propagate infection, as sultry, hot weather fills the air with vermin and nourishes innumerable numbers and kinds of venomous creatures, which breed in our food, in the plants, and even in our bodies, by the very stench of which infection may be propagated; also, that heat in the air, or heat of weather, as we ordinarily call it, makes bodies relax and faint, exhausts the spirits, opens the pores, and makes us more apt to receive infection, or any evil influence, be it from noxious pestilential vapours, or any other thing in the air; but that the heat of fire, and especially of coal fires kept in our houses, or near us, had a quite different operation, the heat being not of the same kind, but quick and fierce, tending not to nourish but to consume and dissipate all those noxious fumes which the other kind of heat rather exhaled and stagnated than separated and burnt up. Besides, it was alleged that the sulphurous and nitrous particles that are often found to be in the coal, with that bituminous substance which burns, are all assisting to clear and purge the air, and render it

wholesome and safe to breathe in, after the noxious particles, as above, are dispersed and burnt up.

The latter opinion prevailed at that time, and, as I must confess, I think with good reason, and the experience of the citizens confirmed it, many houses which had constant fires kept in the rooms having never been infected at all; and I must join my experience to it, for I found the keeping good fires kept our rooms sweet and wholesome, and I do verily believe made our whole family so, more than would otherwise have been.

But I return to the coals as a trade. It was with no little difficulty that this trade was kept open, and particularly because, as we were in an open war with the Dutch at that time, the Dutch capers at first took a great many of our collier-ships, which made the rest cautious, and made them to stay to come in fleets together. But after some time the capers were either afraid to take them, or their masters, the States, were afraid they should, and forbade them, lest the plague should be among them, which made them fare the better.

For the security of those northern traders, the coal-ships were ordered by my Lord Mayor not to come up into the Pool above a certain number at a time, and ordered lighters and other vessels, such as the wood-mongers, that is, the wharf-keepers or coal-sellers, furnished, to go down and take out the coals as low as Deptford and Greenwich, and some farther down.

Others delivered great quantities of coals in particular places, where the ships could come to the shore, as at Greenwich, Blackwall, and other places, in vast heaps, as if to be kept for sale, but were then fetched away, after the ships which brought them were gone, so that the seamen had no communication with the river-men, nor so much as came near one another.

Yet all this caution could not effectually prevent the distemper getting among the colliery, that is to say, among the ships, by which a great many seamen died of it; and that which was still worse was, that they carried it down to Ipswich and Yarmouth, to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and other places on the coast, where, especially at Newcastle and at Sunderland, it carried off a great number of people.

The making so many fires, as above, did indeed consume an unusual quantity of coals; and that upon one or two stops of the ships coming up, whether by contrary weather or by the interruption of enemies I do not remember, but the price of coals was exceeding dear, even as high as £4 a chalder; but it soon abated when the ships came in, and as afterwards they had a freer passage, the price was very reasonable all the rest of that year.

The public fires which were made on these occasions, as I have calculated it, must necessarily have cost the city about 200 chalders of coals a week, if they had continued, which was indeed a very great quantity; but as it was thought necessary, nothing was spared. However, as some of the physicians cried them down, they were not kept alight above four or five days. The fires were ordered thus: —

One at the Custom House, one at Billingsgate, one at Queenhithe, and one at the Three Cranes; one in Blackfriars, and one at the gate of Bridewell; one at the corner of Leadenhall Street and Gracechurch; one at the north and one at the south gate of the Royal Exchange; one at Guild Hall, and one at Blackwell Hall gate; one at the Lord Mayor's door in St. Helen's, one at the west entrance into St. Paul's, and one at the entrance into Bow Church. I do not remember whether there was any at the city gates, but one at the Bridge-foot there was, just by St. Magnus Church.

I know some have quarrelled since that at the experiment, and said that there died the more people because of those fires; but I am persuaded those that say so offer no evidence to prove it, neither can I believe it on any account whatever.

It remains to give some account of the state of trade at home in England during this dreadful time, and particularly as it relates to the manufactures and the trade in the city. At the first breaking out of the infection there was, as it is easy to suppose, a very great fright among the people, and consequently a general stop of trade, except in provisions and necessaries of life; and even in those things, as there was a vast number of people fled and a very great number always sick, besides the number which died, so there could not be above two-thirds, if above one-half, of the consumption of provisions in the city as used to be.

It pleased God to send a very plentiful year of corn and fruit, but not of hay or grass, by which means bread was cheap, by reason of the plenty of corn. Flesh was cheap, by reason of the scarcity of grass; but butter and cheese were dear, for the same reason, and hay in the market just beyond Whitechapel Bars was sold at £4 per load. But that affected not the poor. There was a most excessive plenty of all sorts of fruit, such as apples, pears, plums, cherries, grapes, and they were the cheaper because of the want of people; but this made the poor eat them to excess, and this brought them into fluxes, griping of the guts, surfeits, and the like, which often precipitated them into the plague.

But to come to matters of trade. First, foreign exportation being stopped or at least very much interrupted and rendered difficult, a general stop of all those manufactures followed of course which were usually brought for exportation; and though some-

times merchants abroad were importunate for goods, yet little was sent, the passages being so generally stopped that the English ships would not be admitted, as is said already, into their port.

This put a stop to the manufactures that were for exportation in most parts of England, except in some out-ports; and even that was soon stopped, for they all had the plague in their turn. But though this was felt all over England, yet, what was still worse, all intercourse of trade for home consumption of manufactures, especially those which usually circulated through the Londoners' hands, was stopped at once, the trade of the city being stopped.

All kinds of handicrafts in the city, &c., tradesmen and mechanics, were, as I have said before, out of employ, and this occasioned the putting off and dismissing an innumerable number of journeymen and workmen of all sorts, seeing nothing was done relating to such trades but what might be said to be absolutely necessary.

This caused the multitude of single people in London to be unprovided for, as also of families whose living depended upon the labour of the heads of those families; I say, this reduced them to extreme misery; and I must confess it is for the honour of the city of London, and will be for many ages, as long as this is to be spoken of, that they were able to supply with charitable provision the wants of so many thousands of those as afterwards fell sick and were distressed, so that it may be safely averred that nobody perished for want, at least that the magistrates had any notice given them of.

This stagnation of our manufacturing trade in the country would have put the people there to much greater difficulties, but that the master-workmen, clothiers and others, to the uttermost of their stocks and strength, kept on making their goods to keep the

poor at work, believing that as soon as the sickness should abate they would have a quick demand in proportion to the decay of their trade at that time. But as none but those masters that were rich could do thus, and that many were poor and not able, the manufacturing trade in England suffered greatly, and the poor were pinched all over England by the calamity of the city of London only.

It is true that the next year made them full amends by another terrible calamity upon the city; so that the city by one calamity impoverished and weakened the country, and by another calamity, even terrible too of its kind, enriched the country and made them again amends; for an infinite quantity of household stuff, wearing apparel, and other things, besides whole warehouses filled with merchandise and manufactures, such as come from all parts of England, were consumed in the fire of London the next year after this terrible visitation. It is incredible what a trade this made all over the whole kingdom, to make good the want and to supply that loss; so that, in short, all the manufacturing hands in the nation were set on work, and were little enough for several years to supply the market and answer the demands. All foreign markets also were empty of our goods by the stop which had been occasioned by the plague, and before an open trade was allowed again; and the prodigious demand at home falling in, joined to make a quick vent for all sorts of goods; so that there never was known such a trade all over England for the time as was in the first seven years after the plague, and after the fire of London.

It remains now that I should say something of the merciful part of this terrible judgment. The last week in September, the plague being come to its crisis, its fury began to assuage. I remember my friend Dr. Heath, coming to see me the week before,

told me he was sure that the violence of it would assuage in a few days; but when I saw the weekly bill of that week, which was the highest of the whole year, being 8297 of all diseases, I upbraided him with it, and asked him what he had made his judgment from. His answer, however, was not so much to seek as I thought it would have been. "Look you," says he, "by the number which are at this time sick and infected, there should have been twenty thousand dead the last week instead of eight thousand, if the inveterate mortal contagion had been as it was two weeks ago; for then it ordinarily killed in two or three days, now not under eight or ten; and then not above one in five recovered, whereas I have observed that now not above two in five miscarry. And, observe it from me, the next bill will decrease, and you will see many more people recover than used to do; for though a vast multitude are now everywhere infected, and as many every day fall sick, yet there will not so many die as there did, for the malignity of the distemper is abated;" adding that he began now to hope, nay, more than hope, that the infection had passed its crisis and was going off; and accordingly so it was, for the next week being, as I said, the last in September, the bill decreased almost two thousand.

It is true the plague was still at a frightful height, and the next bill was no less than 6460, and the next to that, 5720; but still my friend's observation was just, and it did appear the people did recover faster and more in number than they used to do; and indeed, if it had not been so, what had been the condition of the city of London? For, according to my friend, there were not fewer than 60,000 people at that time infected, whereof, as above, 20,477 died, and near 40,000 recovered; whereas, had it been as it was before, 50,000 of that number would very prob-

ably have died, if not more, and 50,000 more would have sickened; for, in a word, the whole mass of people began to sicken, and it looked as if none would escape.

But this remark of my friend's appeared more evident in a few weeks more, for the decrease went on, and another week in October it decreased 1843, so that the number dead of the plague was but 2665; and the next week it decreased 1413 more, and yet it was seen plainly that there was abundance of people sick, nay, abundance more than ordinary, and abundance fell sick every day, but (as above) the malignity of the disease abated.

Such is the precipitant disposition of our people (whether it is so or not all over the world, that's none of my particular business to inquire), but I saw it apparently here, that as upon the first fright of the infection, they shunned one another, and fled from one another's houses and from the city with an unaccountable and, as I thought, unnecessary fright, so now, upon this notion spreading, viz., that the distemper was not so catching as formerly, and that if it was catched it was not so mortal, and seeing abundance of people who really fell sick recover again daily, they took to such a precipitant courage, and grew so entirely regardless of themselves and of the infection, that they made no more of the plague than of an ordinary fever, nor indeed so much. They not only went boldly into company with those who had tumours and carbuncles upon them that were running, and consequently contagious, but ate and drank with them, nay, into their houses to visit them, and even, as I was told, into their very chambers where they lay sick.

This I could not see rational. My friend Dr. Heath allowed, and it was plain to experience, that the distemper was as catching as ever, and as many

fell sick, but only he alleged that so many of those that fell sick did not die; but I think that while many did die, and that at best the distemper itself was very terrible, the sores and swellings very tormenting, and the danger of death not left out of the circumstance of sickness, though not so frequent as before; all those things, together with the exceeding tediousness of the cure, the loathsomeness of the disease, and many other articles, were enough to deter any man living from a dangerous mixture with the sick people, and make them as anxious almost to avoid the infection as before.

Nay, there was another thing which made the mere catching of the distemper frightful, and that was the terrible burning of the caustics which the surgeons laid on the swellings to bring them to break and to run, without which the danger of death was very great, even to the last. Also, the insufferable torment of the swellings, which, though it might not make people raving and distracted, as they were before, and as I have given several instances of already, yet they put the patient to inexpressible torment; and those that fell into it, though they did escape with life, yet they made bitter complaints of those that had told them there was no danger, and sadly repented their rashness and folly in venturing to run into the reach of it.

Nor did this unwary conduct of the people end here, for a great many that thus cast off their cautions suffered more deeply still, and though many escaped, yet many died; and at least it had this public mischief attending it, that it made the decrease of burials slower than it would otherwise have been. For as this notion ran like lightning through the city, and people's heads were possessed with it, even as soon as the first great decrease in the bills appeared, we found that the two next bills did not

decrease in proportion; the reason I take to be the people's running so rashly into danger, giving up all their former cautions and care, and all the shyness which they used to practise, depending that the sickness would not reach them, or that if it did, they should not die.

The physicians opposed this thoughtless humour of the people with all their might, and gave out printed directions, spreading them all over the city and suburbs, advising the people to continue reserved, and to use still the utmost caution in their ordinary conduct, notwithstanding the decrease of the distemper, terrifying them with the danger of bringing a relapse upon the whole city, and telling them how such a relapse might be more fatal and dangerous than the whole visitation that had been already; with many arguments and reasons to explain and prove that part to them, and which are too long to repeat here.

But it was all to no purpose; the audacious creatures were so possessed with the first joy and so surprised with the satisfaction of seeing a vast decrease in the weekly bills, that they were impenetrable by any new terrors, and would not be persuaded but that the bitterness of death was past; and it was to no more purpose to talk to them than to an east wind; but they opened shops, went about streets, did business, and conversed with anybody that came in their way to converse with, whether with business or without, neither inquiring of their health or so much as being apprehensive of any danger from them, though they knew them not to be sound.

This imprudent, rash conduct cost a great many their lives who had with great care and caution shut themselves up and kept retired, as it were, from all mankind, and had by that means, under God's providence, been preserved through all the heat of that infection.

This rash and foolish conduct, I say, of the people went so far that the ministers took notice to them of it at last, and laid before them both the folly and danger of it; and this checked it a little, so that they grew more cautious. But it had another effect, which they could not check; for as the first rumour had spread not over the city only, but into the country, it had the like effect, and the people were so tired with being so long from London, and so eager to come back, that they flocked to town without fear or forecast, and began to show themselves in the streets, as if all the danger was over. It was indeed surprising to see it, for though there died still from 1000 to 1800 a week, yet the people flocked to town as if all had been well.

The consequence of this was, that the bills increased again 400 the very first week in November; and if I might believe the physicians, there was above 3000 fell sick that week, most of them newcomers, too.

One John Cock, a barber in St. Martin's-le-Grand, was an eminent example of this; I mean of the hasty return of the people when the plague was abated. This John Cock had left the town with his whole family, and locked up his house, and was gone in the country, as many others did; and finding the plague so decreased in November that there died but 905 per week of all diseases, he ventured home again. He had in his family ten persons; that is to say, himself and wife, five children, two apprentices, and a maid-servant. He had not been returned to his house above a week, and began to open his shop and carry on his trade, but the distemper broke out in his family, and within about five days they all died, except one; that is to say, himself, his wife, all his five children, and his two apprentices; and only the maid remained alive.

But the mercy of God was greater to the rest than we had reason to expect; for the malignity, as I have said, of the distemper was spent, the contagion was exhausted, and also the winter weather came on apace, and the air was clear and cold, with some sharp frosts; and this increasing still, most of those that had fallen sick recovered, and the health of the city began to return. There were indeed some returns of the distemper even in the month of December, and the bills increased near a hundred; but it went off again, and so in a short while things began to return to their own channel. And wonderful it was to see how populous the city was again all on a sudden, so that a stranger could not miss the numbers that were lost. Neither was there any miss of the inhabitants as to their dwellings, few or no empty houses were to be seen, or if there were some, there was no want of tenants for them.

I wish I could say that as the city had a new face, so the manners of the people had a new appearance. I doubt not but there were many that retained a sincere sense of their deliverance, and that were heartily thankful to that Sovereign Hand that had protected them in so dangerous a time; it would be very uncharitable to judge otherwise in a city so populous, and where the people were so devout as they were here in the time of the visitation itself; but except what of this was to be found in particular families and faces, it must be acknowledged that the general practice of the people was just as it was before, and very little difference was to be seen.

Some, indeed, said things were worse; that the morals of the people declined from this very time; that the people, hardened by the danger they had been in, like seamen after a storm is over, were more wicked and more stupid, more bold and hardened, in their vices and immoralities than they were before;

but I will not carry it so far neither. It would take up a history of no small length to give a particular of all the gradations by which the course of things in this city came to be restored again, and to run in their own channel as they did before.

Some parts of England were now infected as violently as London had been; the cities of Norwich, Peterborough, Lincoln, Colchester, and other places were now visited; and the magistrates of London began to set rules for our conduct as to corresponding with those cities. It is true we could not pretend to forbid their people coming to London, because it was impossible to know them asunder, so, after many consultations, the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen were obliged to drop it. All they could do was to warn and caution the people not to entertain in their houses or converse with any people who they knew came from such infected places.

But they might as well have talked to the air, for the people of London thought themselves so plague-free now that they were past all admonitions; they seemed to depend upon it that the air was restored, and that the air was like a man that had had the small-pox, not capable of being infected again. This revived that notion that the infection was all in the air, that there was no such thing as contagion from the sick people to the sound; and so strongly did this whimsy prevail among people that they ran all together promiscuously, sick and well. Not the Mahometans, who, prepossessed with the principle of predestination, value nothing of contagion, let it be in what it will, could be more obstinate than the people of London; they that were perfectly sound, and came out of the wholesome air, as we call it, into the city, made nothing of going into the same houses and chambers, nay, even into the same beds,

with those that had the distemper upon them, and were not recovered.

Some, indeed, paid for their audacious boldness with the price of their lives; an infinite number fell sick, and the physicians had more work than ever, only with this difference, that more of their patients recovered; that is to say, they generally recovered, but certainly there were more people infected and fell sick now, when there did not die above a thousand or twelve hundred in a week, than there was when there died five or six thousand a week, so entirely negligent were the people at that time in the great and dangerous case of health and infection, and so ill were they able to take or accept of the advice of those who cautioned them for their good.

The people being thus returned, as it were, in general, it was very strange to find, that in their inquiring after their friends, some whole families were so entirely swept away that there was no remembrance of them left, neither was anybody to be found to possess or show any title to that little they had left; for in such cases what was to be found was generally embezzled and purloined, some gone one way, some another.

It was said such abandoned effects came to the king, as the universal heir, upon which we are told, and I suppose it was in part true, that the king granted all such, as deodands, to the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of London, to be applied to the use of the poor, of whom there were very many. For it is to be observed, that though the occasions of relief and the objects of distress were very many more in the time of the violence of the plague than now after all was over, yet the distress of the poor was more now a great deal than it was then, because all the sluices of general charity were now shut. People supposed the main occasion to be over, and

so stopped their hands; whereas particular objects were still very moving, and the distress of those that were poor was very great indeed.

Though the health of the city was now very much restored, yet foreign trade did not begin to stir, neither would foreigners admit our ships into their ports for a great while. As for the Dutch, the misunderstandings between our court and them had broken out into a war the year before, so that our trade that way was wholly interrupted; but Spain and Portugal, Italy and Barbary, as also Hamburg and all the ports in the Baltic, these were all shy of us a great while, and would not restore trade with us for many months.

The distemper sweeping away such multitudes, as I have observed, many if not all the out-parishes were obliged to make new burying-grounds, besides that I have mentioned in Bunhill Fields, some of which were continued, and remain in use to this day. But others were left off, and which, I confess, I mention with some reflection, being converted into other uses or built upon afterwards, the dead bodies were disturbed, abused, dug up again, some even before the flesh of them was perished from the bones, and removed like dung or rubbish to other places. Some of those which came within the reach of my observation are as follow:

1. A piece of ground beyond Goswell Street, near Mount Mill, being some of the remains of the old lines or fortifications of the city, where abundance were buried promiscuously from the parishes of Aldersgate, Clerkenwell, and even out of the city. This ground, as I take it, was since made a physic garden, and after that has been built upon.

2. A piece of ground just over the Black Ditch, as it was then called, at the end of Holloway Lane, in Shoreditch parish. It has been since made a yard

for keeping hogs, and for other ordinary uses, but is quite out of use as a burying-ground.

3. The upper end of Hand Alley, in Bishopsgate Street, which was then a green field, and was taken in particularly for Bishopsgate parish, though many of the carts out of the city brought their dead thither also, particularly out of the parish of St. Allhallows on the Wall. This place I cannot mention without much regret. It was, as I remember, about two or three years after the plague was ceased that Sir Robert Clayton came to be possessed of the ground. It was reported, how true I know not, that it fell to the king for want of heirs, all those who had any right to it being carried off by the pestilence, and that Sir Robert Clayton obtained a grant of it from King Charles II. But however he came by it, certain it is the ground was let out to build on, or built upon, by his order. The first house built upon it was a large fair house, still standing, which faces the street or way now called Hand Alley, which, though called an alley, is as wide as a street. The houses in the same row with that house northward are built on the very same ground where the poor people were buried, and the bodies, on opening the ground for the foundations, were dug up, some of them remaining so plain to be seen that the women's skulls were distinguished by their long hair, and of others the flesh was not quite perished; so that the people began to exclaim loudly against it, and some suggested that it might endanger a return of the contagion; after which the bones and bodies, as fast as they came at them, were carried to another part of the same ground and thrown all together into a deep pit, dug on purpose, which now is to be known in that it is not built on, but is a passage to another house at the upper end of Rose Alley, just against the door of a meeting-house, which has been built

there many years since; and the ground is palisadoed off from the rest of the passage, in a little square; there lie the bones and remains of near two thousand bodies, carried by the dead carts to their grave in that one year.

4. Besides this, there was a piece of ground in Moorfields, by the going into the street which is now called Old Bethlem, which was enlarged much, though not wholly taken in on the same occasion.

[*N. B.* — The author of this journal lies buried in that very ground, being at his own desire, his sister having been buried there a few years before.]

5. Stepney parish, extending itself from the east part of London to the north, even to the very edge of Shoreditch Churchyard, had a piece of ground taken in to bury their dead close to the said churchyard, and which for that very reason was left open, and is since, I suppose, taken into the same churchyard. And they had also two other burying-places in Spitalfields, one where since a chapel or tabernacle has been built for ease to this great parish, and another in Petticoat Lane.

There were no less than five other grounds made use of for the parish of Stepney at that time, one where now stands the parish church of St. Paul, Shadwell, and the other where now stands the parish church of St. John's at Wapping, both which had not the names of parishes at that time, but were belonging to Stepney parish.

I could name many more, but these coming within my particular knowledge, the circumstance, I thought, made it of use to record them. From the whole, it may be observed that they were obliged in this time of distress to take in new burying-grounds in most of the out-parishes for laying the prodigious numbers of people which died in so short a space of time; but why care was not taken to keep those places separate

from ordinary uses, that so the bodies might rest undisturbed, that I cannot answer for, and must confess I think it was wrong. Who were to blame I know not.

I should have mentioned that the Quakers had at that time also a burying-ground set apart to their use, and which they still make use of; and they had also a particular dead-cart to fetch their dead from their houses; and the famous Solomon Eagle, who, as I mentioned before, had predicted the plague as a judgment, and ran naked through the streets, telling the people that it was come upon them to punish them for their sins, had his own wife died the very next day of the plague, and was carried, one of the first in the Quakers' dead-cart, to their new burying-ground.

I might have thronged this account with many more remarkable things which occurred in the time of the infection, and particularly what passed between the Lord Mayor and the Court, which was then at Oxford, and what directions were from time to time received from the Government for their conduct on this critical occasion. But really the Court concerned themselves so little, and that little they did was of so small import, that I do not see it of much moment to mention any part of it here, except that of appointing a monthly fast in the city and the sending the royal charity to the relief of the poor, both which I have mentioned before.

Great was the reproach thrown on those physicians who left their patients during the sickness, and now they came to town again nobody cared to employ them. They were called deserters, and frequently bills were set up upon their doors and written, "Here is a doctor to be let," so that several of those physicians were fain for a while to sit still and look about them, or at least remove their dwellings,

and set up in new places and among new acquaintance. The like was the case with the clergy, whom the people were indeed very abusive to, writing verses and scandalous reflections upon them, setting upon the church-door, "Here is a pulpit to be let," or sometimes, "to be sold," which was worse.

It was not the least of our misfortunes, that with our infection, when it ceased, there did not cease the spirit of strife and contention, slander and reproach, which was really the great troubler of the nation's peace before. It was said to be the remains of the old animosities, which had so lately involved us all in blood and disorder. But as the late Act of Indemnity had laid asleep the quarrel itself, so the Government had recommended family and personal peace upon all occasions to the whole nation.

But it could not be obtained, and particularly after the ceasing of the plague in London, when any one that had seen the condition which the people had been in, and how they caressed one another at that time, promised to have more charity for the future, and to raise no more reproaches; I say, any one that had seen them then would have thought they would have come together with another spirit at last. But, I say, it could not be obtained. The quarrel remained; the Church and the Presbyterians were incompatible. As soon as the plague was removed, the Dissenting ousted ministers who had supplied the pulpits which were deserted by the incumbents retired; they could expect no other but that they should immediately fall upon them and harass them with their penal laws, accept their preaching while they were sick, and persecute them as soon as they were recovered again; this even we that were of the Church thought was very hard, and could by no means approve of it.

But it was the Government, and we could say

nothing to hinder it; we could only say it was not our doing, and we could not answer for it.

On the other hand, the Dissenters reproaching those ministers of the Church with going away and deserting their charge, abandoning the people in their danger, and when they had most need of comfort, and the like, this we could by no means approve, for all men have not the same faith and the same courage, and the Scripture commands us to judge the most favourably and according to charity.

A plague is a formidable enemy, and is armed with terrors that every man is not sufficiently fortified to resist or prepared to stand the shock against. It is very certain that a great many of the clergy who were in circumstances to do it withdrew and fled for the safety of their lives; but 't is true also that a great many of them stayed, and many of them fell in the calamity and in the discharge of their duty.

It is true some of the Dissenting turned-out ministers stayed, and their courage is to be commended and highly valued, but these were not abundance; it cannot be said that they all stayed, and that none retired into the country, any more than it can be said of the Church clergy that they all went away. Neither did all those that went away go without substituting curates and others in their places, to do the offices needful and to visit the sick, as far as it was practicable; so that, upon the whole, an allowance of charity might have been made on both sides, and we should have considered that such a time as this of 1665 is not to be paralleled in history, and that it is not the stoutest courage that will always support men in such cases. I had not said this, but had rather chosen to record the courage and religious zeal of those of both sides, who did hazard them-

selves for the service of the poor people in their distress, without remembering that any failed in their duty on either side. But the want of temper among us has made the contrary to this necessary, some that stayed not only boasting too much of themselves, but reviling those that fled, branding them with cowardice, deserting their flocks, and acting the part of the hireling, and the like. I recommend it to the charity of all good people to look back and reflect duly upon the terrors of the time, and whoever does so will see that it is not an ordinary strength that could support it. It was not like appearing in the head of an army or charging a body of horse in the field, but it was charging Death itself on his pale horse; to stay was indeed to die, and it could be esteemed nothing less, especially as things appeared at the latter end of August and the beginning of September, and as there was reason to expect them at that time; for no man expected, and I dare say believed, that the distemper would take so sudden a turn as it did, and fall immediately 2000 in a week, when there was such a prodigious number of people sick at that time as it was known there was; and then it was that many shifted away that had stayed most of the time before.

Besides, if God gave strength to some more than to others, was it to boast of their ability to abide the stroke, and upbraid those that had not the same gift and support, or ought not they rather to have been humble and thankful if they were rendered more useful than their brethren?

I think it ought to be recorded to the honour of such men, as well clergy as physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, magistrates, and officers of every kind, as also all useful people who ventured their lives in discharge of their duty, as most certainly all such as stayed did to the last degree, and several of all these

kinds did not only venture but lose their lives on that sad occasion.

I was once making a list of all such, I mean of all those professions and employments who thus died, as I call it, in the way of their duty; but it was impossible for a private man to come at a certainty in the particulars. I only remember that there died sixteen clergymen, two aldermen, five physicians, thirteen surgeons, within the city and liberties before the beginning of September. But this being, as I said before, the great crisis and extremity of the infection, it can be no complete list. As to inferior people, I think there died six-and-forty constables and head-boroughs in the two parishes of Stepney and Whitechapel; but I could not carry my list on, for when the violent rage of the distemper in September came upon us, it drove us out of all measures. Men did then no more die by tale and by number. They might put out a weekly bill, and call them seven or eight thousand, or what they pleased; 't is certain they died by heaps, and were buried by heaps, that is to say, without account. And if I might believe some people, who were more abroad and more conversant with those things than I — though I was public enough for one that had no more business to do than I had, — I say, if I may believe them, there was not many less buried those first three weeks in September than 20,000 per week. However the others aver the truth of it, yet I rather choose to keep to the public account; seven and eight thousand per week is enough to make good all that I have said of the terror of those times; and it is much to the satisfaction of me that write, as well as those that read, to be able to say that everything is set down with moderation, and rather within compass than beyond it.

Upon all these accounts, I say, I could wish, when

we were recovered, our conduct had been more distinguished for charity and kindness in remembrance of the past calamity, and not so much a valuing ourselves upon our boldness in staying, as if all men were cowards that fly from the hand of God, or that those who stay do not sometimes owe their courage to their ignorance and despising the hand of their Maker, which is a criminal kind of desperation, and not a true courage.

I cannot but leave it upon record that the civil officers, such as constables, head-boroughs, Lord Mayor's and sheriffs'-men, as also parish-officers, whose business it was to take charge of the poor, did their duties in general with as much courage as any, and perhaps with more, because their work was attended with more hazards, and lay more among the poor, who were more subject to be infected, and in the most pitiful plight when they were taken with the infection. But then it must be added to that a great number of them died; indeed it was scarce possible it should be otherwise.

I have not said one word here about the physic or preparations that we ordinarily made use of on this terrible occasion — I mean we that went frequently abroad up and down street, as I did; much of this was talked of in the books and bills of our quack doctors, of whom I have said enough already. It may, however, be added, that the College of Physicians were daily publishing several preparations, which they had considered of in the process of their practice, and which being to be had in print, I avoid repeating them for that reason.

One thing I could not help observing, what befell one of the quacks, who published that he had a most excellent preservative against the plague, which whoever kept about them should never be infected or liable to infection. This man, who, we may reason-

ably suppose, did not go abroad without some of this excellent preservative in his pocket, yet was taken by the distemper, and carried off in two or three days.

I am not of the number of the physic-haters or physic-despisers; on the contrary, I have often mentioned the regard I had to the dictates of my particular friend Dr. Heath; but yet I must acknowledge I made use of little or nothing, except, as I have observed, to keep a preparation of strong scent to have ready, in case I met with anything of offensive smells, or went too near any burying-place or dead body.

Neither did I do, what I know some did, keep the spirits always high and hot with cordials and wine, and such things, and which, as I observed, one learned physician used himself so much to as that he could not leave them off when the infection was quite gone, and so became a sot for all his life after.

I remember my friend the doctor used to say that there was a certain set of drugs and preparations which were all certainly good and useful in the case of an infection, out of which, or with which, physicians might make an infinite variety of medicines, as the ringers of bells make several hundred different rounds of music by the changing and order of sound but in six bells, and that all these preparations shall be really very good: "Therefore," said he, "I do not wonder that so vast a throng of medicines is offered in the present calamity, and almost every physician prescribes or prepares a different thing, as his judgment or experience guides him; but," says my friend, "let all the prescriptions of all the physicians in London be examined, and it will be found that they are all compounded of the same things, with such variations only as the particular fancy of the doctor leads him to; so that," says he, "every

man, judging a little of his own constitution and manner of his living, and circumstances of his being infected, may direct his own medicines out of the ordinary drugs and preparations. Only that," says he "some recommend one thing as most sovereign, and some another. Some," says he, "think that *pill. ruff.*, which is called itself the antipestilential pill, is the best preparation that can be made; others think that Venice treacle is sufficient of itself to resist the contagion; and I," says he, "think as both these think, viz., that the last is good to take beforehand to prevent it, and the last, if touched, to expel it." According to this opinion, I several times took Venice treacle, and a sound sweat upon it, and thought myself as well fortified against the infection as any one could be fortified by the power of physic.

As for quackery and mountebanks, of which the town was so full, I listened to none of them, and have observed often since, with some wonder, that for two years after the plague I scarcely saw or heard of one of them about town. Some fancied they were all swept away in the infection to a man, and were for calling it a particular mark of God's vengeance upon them for leading the poor people into the pit of destruction, merely for the lucre of a little money they got by them; but I cannot go that length neither. That abundance of them died is certain; many of them came within the reach of my own knowledge; but that all of them were swept off I much question. I believe rather they fled into the country, and tried their practices upon the people there, who were in apprehension of the infection before it came among them.

This, however, is certain, not a man of them appeared for a great while in or about London. There were, indeed, several doctors who published bills rec-

ommending their several physical preparations for cleansing the body, as they call it, after the plague, and needful, as they said, for such people to take who had been visited and had been cured; whereas, I must own, I believe that it was the opinion of the most eminent physicians at that time that the plague was itself a sufficient purge, and that those who escaped the infection needed no physic to cleanse their bodies of any other things, the running sores, the tumours, &c., which were broke and kept open by the directions of the physicians, having sufficiently cleansed them; and that all other distempers, and causes of distempers, were effectually carried off that way; and as the physicians gave this as their opinions wherever they came, the quacks got little business.

There were, indeed, several little hurries which happened after the decrease of the plague, and which, whether they were contrived to fright and disorder the people, as some imagined, I cannot say, but sometimes we were told the plague would return by such a time; and the famous Solomon Eagle, the naked Quaker I have mentioned, prophesied evil tidings every day; and several others telling us that London had not been sufficiently scourged, and that sorer and severer strokes were yet behind. Had they stopped there, or had they descended to particulars, and told us that the city should the next year be destroyed by fire, then, indeed, when we had seen it come to pass, we should not have been to blame to have paid more than a common respect to their prophetic spirits; at least we should have wondered at them, and have been more serious in our inquiries after the meaning of it, and whence they had the foreknowledge. But as they generally told us of a relapse into the plague, we have had no concern since that about them; yet by those frequent clamours, we were all kept with some kind of apprehensions

constantly upon us; and if any died suddenly, or if the spotted fevers at any time increased, we were presently alarmed; much more if the number of the plague increased, for to the end of the year there were always between 200 and 300 of the plague. On any of these occasions, I say, we were alarmed anew.

Those who remember the city of London before the fire must remember that there was then no such place as that we now call Newgate Market, but that in the middle of the street which is now called Blow-bladder Street, and which had its name from the butchers, who used to kill and dress their sheep there (and who, it seems, had a custom to blow up their meat with pipes to make it look thicker and fatter than it was, and were punished there for it by the Lord Mayor); I say, from the end of the street towards Newgate there stood two long rows of shambles for the selling meat.

It was in those shambles that two persons falling down dead, as they were buying meat, gave rise to a rumour that the meat was all infected, which, though it might affright the people, and spoiled the market for two or three days, yet it appeared plainly afterwards that there was nothing of truth in the suggestion. But nobody can account for the possession of fear when it takes hold of the mind.

However, it pleased God, by the continuing of the winter weather, so to restore the health of the city that by February following we reckoned the distemper quite ceased, and then we were not so easily frighted again.

There was still a question among the learned, and at first perplexed the people a little, and that was in what manner to purge the house and goods where the plague had been, and how to render them habitable again, which had been left empty during the

time of the plague. Abundance of perfumes and preparations were prescribed by physicians, some of one kind and some of another, in which the people who listened to them put themselves to a great, and indeed, in my opinion, to an unnecessary expense; and the poorer people, who only set open their windows night and day, burned brimstone, pitch, and gunpowder, and such things in their rooms, did as well as the best; nay, the eager people, who, as I said above, came home in haste and at all hazards, found little or no inconvenience in their houses, nor in the goods, and did little or nothing to them.

However, in general, prudent, cautious people did enter into some measures for airing and sweetening their houses, and burned perfumes, incense, benjamin, rosin, and sulphur, in their rooms close shut up, and then let the air carry it all out with a blast of gunpowder; others caused large fires to be made all day and all night for several days and nights; by the same token that two or three were pleased to set their houses on fire, and so effectually sweetened them by burning them down to the ground; as particularly one at Ratcliff, one in Holborn, and one at Westminster; besides two or three that were set on fire, but the fire was happily got out again before it went far enough to burn down the houses; and one citizen's servant, I think it was in Thames Street, carried so much gunpowder into his master's house, for clearing it of the infection, and managed it so foolishly, that he blew up part of the roof of the house. But the time was not fully come that the city was to be purged by fire, nor was it far off; for within nine months more I saw it all lying in ashes; when, as some of our quacking philosophers pretend, the seeds of the plague were entirely destroyed, and not before; a notion too ridiculous to speak of here, since, had the seeds of the plague

remained in the houses, not to be destroyed but by fire, how has it been that they have not since broken out, seeing all those buildings in the suburbs and liberties, all in the great parishes of Stepney, Whitechapel, Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Shoreditch, Cripplegate, and St. Giles, where the fire never came, and where the plague raged with the greatest violence, remain still in the same condition they were in before?

But to leave these things just as I found them, it was certain that those people who were more than ordinarily cautious of their health, did take particular directions for what they called seasoning of their houses, and abundance of costly things were consumed on that account, which I cannot but say not only seasoned those houses, as they desired, but filled the air with very grateful and wholesome smells, which others had the share of the benefit of as well as those who were at the expenses of them.

And yet after all, though the poor came to town very precipitantly, as I have said, yet I must say the rich made no such haste. The men of business, indeed, came up, but many of them did not bring their families to town till the spring came on, and that they saw reason to depend upon it that the plague would not return.

The Court, indeed, came up soon after Christmas, but the nobility and gentry, except such as depended upon and had employment under the administration, did not come so soon.

I should have taken notice here, that notwithstanding the violence of the plague in London and in other places, yet it was very observable that it was never on board the fleet, and yet for some time there was a strange press in the river, and even in the streets, for seamen to man the fleet. But it was in the beginning of the year, when the plague was

scarce begun, and not at all come down to that part of the city where they usually press for seamen; and though a war with the Dutch was not at all grateful to the people at that time, and the seamen went with a kind of reluctancy into the service, and many complained of being dragged into it by force, yet it proved in the event a happy violence to several of them, who had probably perished in the general calamity, and who, after the summer service was over, though they had cause to lament the desolation of their families, who — when they came back, were many of them in their graves — yet they had room to be thankful that they were carried out of the reach of it, though so much against their wills. We indeed had a hot war with the Dutch that year, and one very great engagement at sea, in which the Dutch were worsted, but we lost a great many men and some ships. But, as I observed, the plague was not in the fleet, and when they came to lay up the ships in the river the violent part of it began to abate.

I would be glad if I could close the account of this melancholy year with some particular examples historically; I mean of the thankfulness to God, our preserver, for our being delivered from this dreadful calamity. Certainly the circumstance of the deliverance, as well as the terrible enemy we were delivered from, called upon the whole nation for it. The circumstances of the deliverance were indeed very remarkable, as I have in part mentioned already, and particularly the dreadful condition which we were all in, when we were, to the surprise of the whole town, made joyful with the hope of a stop of the infection.

Nothing but the immediate finger of God, nothing but omnipotent power, could have done it. The contagion despised all medicine; death raged in

every corner; and had it gone on as it did then, a few weeks more would have cleared the town of all, and everything that had a soul. Men everywhere began to despair; every heart failed them for fear; people were made desperate through the anguish of their souls, and the terrors of death sat in the very faces and countenances of the people.

In that very moment, when we might very well say, "Vain was the help of man," — I say, in that very moment it pleased God, with a most agreeable surprise, to cause the fury of it to abate, even of itself; and the malignity declining, as I have said, though infinite numbers were sick, yet fewer died, and the very first week's bill decreased 1843; a vast number indeed!

It is impossible to express the change that appeared in the very countenances of the people that Thursday morning when the weekly bill came out. It might have been perceived in their countenances that a secret surprise and smile of joy sat on everybody's face. They shook one another by the hands in the streets, who would hardly go on the same side of the way with one another before. Where the streets were not too broad, they would open their windows and call from one house to another, and ask how they did, and if they had heard the good news that the plague was abated. Some would return, when they said good news, and ask, "What good news?" and when they answered that the plague was abated and the bills decreased almost 2000, they would cry out, "God be praised," and would weep aloud for joy, telling them they had heard nothing of it; and such was the joy of the people that it was, as it were, life to them from the grave. I could almost set down as many extravagant things done in the excess of their joy as of their grief; but that would be to lessen the value of it.

I must confess myself to have been very much dejected just before this happened; for the prodigious number that were taken sick the week or two before, besides those that died, was such, and the lamentations were so great everywhere, that a man must have seemed to have acted even against his reason if he had so much as expected to escape; and as there was hardly a house but mine in all my neighbourhood but what was infected, so had it gone on it would not have been long that there would have been any more neighbours to be infected. Indeed it is hardly credible what dreadful havoc the last three weeks had made, for if I might believe the person whose calculations I always found very well grounded, there were not less than 30,000 people dead and near 100,000 fallen sick in the three weeks I speak of; for the number that sickened was surprising, indeed it was astonishing, and those whose courage upheld them all the time before, sank under it now.

In the middle of their distress, when the condition of the city of London was so truly calamitous, just then it pleased God, as it were, by His immediate hand to disarm this enemy; the poison was taken out of the sting. It was wonderful; even the physicians themselves were surprised at it. Wherever they visited they found their patients better; either they had sweated kindly, or the tumours were broke, or the carbuncles went down, and the inflammations round them changed colour, or the fever was gone, or the violent headache was assuaged, or some good symptom was in the case; so that in a few days everybody was recovering, whole families that were infected and down, that had ministers praying with them, and expected death every hour, were revived and healed, and none died at all out of them.

Nor was this by any new medicine found out, or

new method of cure discovered, or by any experience in the operation which the physicians or surgeons attained to; but it was evidently from the secret invisible hand of Him that had at first sent this disease as a judgment upon us; and let the atheistic part of mankind call my saying what they please, it is no enthusiasm; it was acknowledged at that time by all mankind. The disease was enervated and its malignity spent; and let it proceed from whencesoever it will, let the philosophers search for reasons in nature to account for it by, and labour as much as they will to lessen the debt they owe to their Maker, those physicians who had the least share of religion in them were obliged to acknowledge that it was all supernatural, that it was extraordinary, and that no account could be given of it.

If I should say that this is a visible summons to us all to thankfulness, especially we that were under the terror of its increase, perhaps it may be thought by some, after the sense of the thing was over, an officious canting of religious things, preaching a sermon instead of writing a history, making myself a teacher instead of giving my observations of things; and this restrains me very much from going on here, as I might otherwise do. But if ten lepers were healed, and but one returned to give thanks, I desire to be as that one, and to be thankful for myself.

Nor will I deny but there were abundance of people who, to all appearance, were very thankful at that time; for their mouths were stopped, even the mouths of those whose hearts were not extraordinary long affected with it. But the impression was so strong at that time that it could not be resisted, no, not by the worst of the people.

It was a common thing to meet people in the street that were strangers, and that we knew nothing at all

of, expressing their surprise. Going one day through Aldgate, and a pretty many people being passing and repassing, there comes a man out of the end of the Minories, and looking a little up the street and down, he throws his hands abroad, "Lord, what an alteration is here! Why, last week I came along here, and hardly anybody was to be seen." Another man, I heard him, adds to his words, "'T is all wonderful; 't is all a dream." "Blessed be God," says a third man, "and let us give thanks to Him, for 't is all His own doing, human help and human skill was at an end." These were all strangers to one another. But such salutations as these were frequent in the street every day; and in spite of a loose behaviour, the very common people went along the streets giving God thanks for their deliverance.

It was now, as I said before, the people had cast off all apprehensions, and that too fast; indeed we were no more afraid now to pass by a man with a white cap upon his head, or with a cloth wrapt round his neck, or with his leg limping, occasioned by the sores in his groin, all which were frightful to the last degree but the week before. But now the street was full of them, and these poor recovering creatures, give them their due, appeared very sensible of their unexpected deliverance; and I should wrong them very much if I should not acknowledge that I believe many of them were really thankful. But I must own, that for the generality of the people, it might too justly be said of them as was said of the children of Israel, after their being delivered from the host of Pharaoh, when they passed the Red Sea, and looked back, and saw the Egyptians overwhelmed in the water, viz., that they sang His praise, but they soon forgot His works.

I can go no farther here. I should be counted censorious, and perhaps unjust, if I should enter into

the unpleasing work of reflecting, whatever cause there was for it, upon the unthankfulness and return of all manner of wickedness among us, which I was so much an eye-witness of myself. I shall conclude the account of this calamitous year therefore with a coarse but sincere stanza of my own, which I placed at the end of my ordinary memorandums the same year they were written: —

A dreadful plague in London was
In the year sixty-five,
Which swept an hundred thousand souls
Away; yet I alive!

H. F.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

EXTRACTS FROM CONTEMPORARY NARRATIVES IN ILLUSTRATION OF DEFOE'S "JOURNAL OF THE PLAGUE YEAR."

From Dr. Hodges's "Loimologia."

IN the months of August and September, the contagion changed its former slow and languid pace, and having, as it were, got master of all, made a most terrible slaughter, so that three, four, or five thousand died in a week, and once eight thousand. Who can express the calamities of such times? The whole British nation wept for the miseries of her metropolis. In some houses carcasses lay waiting for burial, and in others, persons in their last agonies; in one room might be heard dying groans, in another the ravings of a delirium, and not far off, relations and friends bewailing both their loss and the dismal prospect of their own sudden departure; death was the sure midwife to all children, and infants passed immediately from the womb to the grave. Who would not burst with grief to see the stock for a future generation hang upon the breasts of a dead mother? Or the marriage-bed changed the first night into a sepulchre, and the unhappy pair meet with death in their first embraces? Some of the infected ran about staggering like drunken men, and fall and expire in the streets; while others lie half dead and comatose, but never to be waked but by the last trumpet; some lie vomiting as if they had drunk poison; and others fall dead in the market, while they are buying necessaries for the support of life."

APPENDIX

"In the beginning of September, such was the violence of the disease, that more than twelve thousand were carried off weekly. At length the presiding magistrates (the Court having removed to Oxford) in this terrible time, that nothing might be left untried, urged by the extreme peril, determined on lighting fires in all the streets for three days together. When this was in agitation, we, the physicians, opposed it with all our authority, alleging that the air itself remained uninfected, and that the scheme therefore would be alike useless and expensive. But the magistrates, over-anxious for the health of the city, and preferring the authority and example of our celebrated Hippocrates, notwithstanding our expostulations, caused fires everywhere to be lighted. Alas! the dispute that had arisen was superseded by the event: the three days had scarcely elapsed when the mourning heavens, as if weeping for the innumerable funerals, or rather bewailing the noxious errors that had been committed, extinguished the flames by profuse showers. I leave it to others to decide whether these fires were to be regarded as ominous preludes of the future conflagration or of the burning funeral piles; but whether through the suffocative effluvia of the coals or of the dampness of the rainy atmosphere immediately following, that night brought unheard-of destruction, for truly more than four thousand perished before the morning. Henceforth may those in authority act more cautiously, and from our misfortune posterity take warning, and not attempt cures after the manner of quacks by following mistaken analogies."

From Vincent's "God's Terrible Voice in the City."

"It was in the year of our Lord 1665 that the plague began in our city of London, after we were warned by the great plague in Holland in the year 1664, and the beginning of it in some remote parts of our land in the same year, not to speak anything whether there was

any signification and influence in the blazing star not long before that appeared in the view of London, and struck some amazement upon the spirits of many. It was in the month of May that the plague was first taken notice of; our bill of mortality did let us know but of three which died of the disease in the whole year before; but in the beginning of May the bill tells us of nine which fell by the plague — one in the heart of the city, the other eight in the suburbs. This was the first arrow of warning that was shot from heaven amongst us, and fear quickly begins to creep upon people's hearts; great thoughts and discourse there is in the town about the plague, and they cast in their minds whither they should go if the plague should increase. Yet when the next week's bill signifieth to them the decrease from nine to three their minds are something appeased, discourse of that subject cools, fears are hushed, and hopes take place that the black cloud did but threaten and give a few drops; but the wind would drive it away. But when in the next bill the number of the dead by the plague is mounted from three to fourteen, and in the next to seventeen, and in the next to forty-three, and the disease begins so much to increase and disperse, sinners begin to be startled."

"The plague is so deadly, it kills where it comes without mercy; it kills, I had almost said *certainly;* very few do escape, especially upon its first entrance and before its malignity be spent. Few are touched by it but they are killed by it, and it kills *suddenly.* As it gives no warning before it comes, suddenly the arrow is shot which woundeth unto the heart, so it gives little time for preparation before it brings to the grave. Under other diseases men may linger out many weeks and months, under some divers years; but the plague usually killeth within a few days, sometimes within a few hours after its first approach, though the body were never so strong and free from disease before."

"Now [June] the citizens of London are put to a stop in the career of their trade; they begin to fear

whom they converse withal and deal withal, lest they should have come out of infected places. Now roses and other sweet flowers wither in the gardens, are disregarded in the markets, and people dare not offer them to their noses lest with their sweet savour that which is infectious should be attracted. Rue and wormwood are taken into the hand, myrrh and zedoary into the mouth, and without some antidote few stir abroad in the morning. Now many houses are shut up where the plague comes and the inhabitants shut in, lest coming abroad they should spread the infection. It was very dismal to behold the red crosses, and read in great letters, 'Lord, have mercy upon us,' on the doors, and watchmen standing before them with halberts; and such a solitude about those places, and people passing by them so gingerly and with such fearful looks, as if they had been lined with enemies in ambush that waited to destroy them."

"The plague increaseth [July] and prevaileth exceedingly; the number of 470 which died in one week by the disease ariseth to 725 the next week, to 1089 the next, to 1843 the next, and to 2010 the next. Now the plague compasseth the walls of the city like a flood, and poureth in upon it. Now most parishes are infected, both without and within [the walls]; yea, there are not so many houses shut up by the plague as by the owners forsaking them for fear of it, and though the inhabitants be so exceedingly decreased by the departure of so many thousands, yet the number of dying persons doth increase fearfully. Now the countries keep guards lest infectious persons should from the city bring the disease unto them. Most of the rich are now gone, and the middle sort will not stay behind; but the poor are forced through poverty to stay and abide the storm. The very sinking fears they have had of the plague hath brought the plague and death upon many. Some by the sight of a coffin in the streets have fallen into a shivering, and immediately the disease has assaulted them; and Sergeant Death hath arrested

them, and clapt to the doors of their houses upon them, from whence they have come forth no more till they have been brought to their graves."

"It would be endless to speak of what we have seen and heard of some in their frenzy rising out of their beds and leaping about their rooms; others crying and roaring at their windows; some coming forth almost naked, and running into the streets. Strange things have others spoken and done when the disease was upon them; but it was very sad to hear of one who, being sick and alone, and, it is like, frantic, burnt himself in his bed."

"In August how dreadful is the increase! Now the cloud is very black, and the storm comes down upon us very sharp. Now Death rides triumphantly on his pale horse through our streets, and breaks into every house almost where any inhabitants are to be found. Now people fall as thick as the leaves in autumn, when they are shaken by a mighty wind. Now there is a dismal solitude in London streets; every day looks with the face of a Sabbath-day, observed with greater solemnity than it used to be in the city. Now shops are shut in, people rare and very few that walk about, insomuch that the grass begins to spring up in some places, and a deep silence almost in every place, especially within the walls; no prancing horses, no rattling coaches, no calling in customers, nor offering wares; no London cries sounding in the ears. If any voice be heard, it is the groans of dying persons, breathing forth their last, and the funeral knells of them that are ready to be carried to their graves. Now shutting up of visited houses (there being so many) is at an end, and most of the well are mingled among the sick, which otherwise would have got no help. Now in some places, where the people did generally stay, not one house in an hundred but what is infected; and in many houses half the family is swept away; in some the whole, from the eldest to the youngest: few escape but with the death of one or two. Never did so many husbands and wives

die together; never did so many parents carry their children with them to the grave, and go together into the same house under earth, who had lived together in the same house upon it. Now the nights are too short to bury the dead: the whole day, though at so great a length, is hardly sufficient to light the dead that fall thereon into their graves. We could hardly go forth but we should meet many coffins, and see many with sores and limping in the streets."

"Now [September] the grave doth open its mouth without measure. Multitudes! multitudes in the valley of the shadow of death, thronging daily into eternity. The churchyards now are stuffed so full with dead corpses that they are in many places swelled two or three feet higher than they were before, and new ground is broken up to bury the dead."

From Boghurst's "Loimographia."

"The wind blowing westward so long together (from before Christmas until July) was the cause the plague began first at the west end of the city, as at St. Giles's and St. Martin's, Westminster. Afterwards it gradually insinuated and crept down Holborn and the Strand, and then into the city, and at last to the east end of the suburbs; so that it was half a year at the west end of the city before the east end and Stepney were infected, which was about the middle of July. Southwark, being the south suburb, was infected almost as soon as the west end."

"The disease spread not altogether by contagion at first, nor began only at one place, and spread farther and farther, as an eating and spreading sore doth all over the body, but fell upon several places of the city and suburbs like rain even at the first — as St. Giles's, St. Martin's, Chancery Lane, Southwark, Houndsditch, and some places within the city, as at Proctors' Houses."

"Almost all that caught the disease with fear died with tokens in two or three days. About the beginning

most men got the disease with fuddling, surfeiting, overheating themselves, and by disorderly living."

"The plague is a most acute disease, for though some died eight, ten, twelve, or twenty days after they had been sick, yet the greatest part died before five or six days, and in the summer about half that were sick died, but towards winter three parts in four lived; but none died suddenly, as though stricken with lightning or an apoplexy, as authors write in several countries, and Diemerbroek seems to believe; but I saw none die under twenty or twenty-four hours."

"One friend growing melancholy for another was one main cause of its going through a family, especially when they were shut up, which bred a sad apprehension and consternation on their spirits, *especially being shut up in dark cellars*. . . . As soon as any house is infected, all the sound people should be had out of it, and not shut up therein to be murdered."

"Of all the common hackney prostitutes of Lutener's Lane, Dog Yard, Cross Lane, Baldwin's Gardens, Hatton Garden, and other places; the common criers of oranges, oysters, fruit, &c.; all the impudent, drunken, drabbing bayles and fellows, and many others of the Rouge Route, there are but few missing."

"Those that die of the plague, die a very easy death generally: first, because it was speedy; secondly, because they died without convulsions. They did but of a sudden fetch their breath a little thick and short, and were presently gone, — just as you squeeze wind out of a bladder. So that I have heard some say, 'How much am I bound to God, who takes me away by such an easy death!' And commonly they say they are not sick when death is just at hand, and talk familiarly with you when they are ready to die, and expect no other themselves."

"Though at first I was much baffled in giving judgment, yet afterwards by use and long observation of the particulars I arrived at a greater skill; for I rendered myself familiar with the disease, knowing that the

means to do any good must be not to be fearful; wherefore I commonly dressed forty sores in a day, held the pulse of patients sweating in their beds half a quarter of an hour together, let blood, administered clysters to the sick, held them up in their beds to keep them from strangling and choking, half an hour together commonly, and suffered their breathing in my face several times when they were dying; eat and drank with them, especially those that had sores; sat down by their bedsides and upon their beds, discoursing with them an hour together. If I had time I stayed by them to see them die, and see the manner of their death, and closed up their mouth and eyes; for they died with their mouth and eyes very much open and staring. Then if people had nobody to help them (for help was scarce at such a time and place), I helped to lay them forth out of the bed, and afterwards into the coffin; and, last of all, accompanied them to the ground."

"Some would sift them [letters] in a sieve, some wash them first in water, and then dry them at the fire; some air them at the top of a house, a hedge, or a pole, two or three days before they opened them; some would lay them between two cold stones two or three days; some set them before the fire like a toast. Some would not receive them but on a long pole; a countryman delivered one thus to my wife, at the shop-door, because he would not venture near her."

"People in the country were so apprehensive of danger from everything coming from London that they kept watch and ward as if they would have kept the wind out of towns, forcing some to lie and die in ditches and under hedges and trees, and to lie unburied for a prey to dogs and fowls of the air. At Gloucester, the Mayor of the city, being an apothecary, would not suffer pipes of wine to be brought into the city that came from London, but being brought in, would have had them drawn through the river to wash off the infection; but at last it was agreed they should be excused by pouring water on them: so the vintner's man took a dish of

water and poured on them, and sprinkled each vessel a little, and so made them wholesome, notwithstanding they had come a hundred miles in the air, and it had rained on them much by the way."

From Allin's Letters ("Archæologia, 1856").

"I am, through mercy, yet well in middest of death, and that, too, approaching neerer and neerer: not many doores off, and the pitt open dayly within view of my chamber window. The Lord fitt mee and all of us for our last end! Surely, if my friends be afrayd of my letters, I would not be afrayd of theirs. The sickness yet increaseth: this bill is 249 more then y^e^ last, viz. — of all diseases, 5568; of the Plague, 4237: but rather in verity 5000, though not so many in the bill of y^e^ Plague. Here are many who weare amulets made of the poison of the toad, which, if there be no infection, workes nothing, but, upon any infection invadeing from time to time, raise a blister, w^ch^ a plaister heales, and so they are well: phaps I may by y^e^ next get the true p^r^paration of it, and send you. The sickness at Yarmouth, Dover, and Southampton I heare is much increasing yet: 3 houses last weeke shutt up in Dover. I saw this day some 'prima materia' in o^r^ streetes" (*Aug.* 24).

"Y^e^ sicknesse encreased very much last bill, viz. 1928 increase; y totall, 7496; of y^e^ Plague, 6102. Since that bill I have not pticularly heard anything whether still increasing or not, but feare, by the dolefull and almost universall and continuall ringing and tolling of bells, it doth increase. I am sure it approacheth to mee, I meane my concernem^t^: for it hath pleased God to take from mee the best friend I have in y^e^ world, and one wherein my children stood as much concerned as in myself w^th^ reference to what they should have expected from the relations of my wife: it is my brother, Peter Smith, who was abroad on Lord's day last, in the morning; towards evening a little ill, then

tooke something to sweate, w^ch^ yt night brought forth a stiffness under his eare, where he had a swelling y^t^ could not be brought to rise and breake, but choacked him; he dyed Thursday night last. I blesse God I am well; was not with my brother after wee see what it would bee, as little else upon every distemp here can be expected: it is a greate mercy now counted to dye of another disease" (*Sept.* 2).

"These 3 dayes hath bene sea cole fires made in the streetes about every 12^th^ doore, but that will not do y^e^ worke of stopping God's hand; nothing but repentance will do that, of w^ch^ no signe yett, but oppressions, &c. yet increasing" (*Sept.* 7).

"I heare also y^t^ above 7 score d^rs^, apothecarys, and surgeons are dead of this distemp in and about y^e^ City since this visitation. God is resolved to staine the pride of all glory; there is no boasting before Him, and much lesse ag^st^ Him" (*Sept.* 11).

"It is yet increasing. In our parish this bill is raised about 50: y^e^ whole bill is 8297: Plague 7165: increased in all this weeke 607. Much rageing now in the city. . . . Freind, get a piece of angell gold, if you can of Eliz. coine (y^t^ is y^e^ best), w^ch^ is phylosophicall gold, and keepe it allways in yo^r^ mouth when you walke out or any sicke persons come to you: you will find strange effects of it for good in freedome of breathing, &c. as I have done; if you lye w^th^ it in your mouth w^thout^ y^r^ teeth, as I doe, viz. in one side betweene your cheke and gummes, and so turning it sometimes on one side, sometimes on y^e^ other" (*Sept.* 22).

"Some fresh houses in divers parishes are still visited, besides more of them that come to towne, or are imployed in the aireing of other's houses" (*Dec.* 7).

"Divers psons and familyes at their returne home to the City have mett with what they fled from, in so much that I feare and heare this weekes bill hath an increase. I heare there is a new blazing starr seene last weeke, 4 or 5 nights together, about north-east" (*Dec.* 12).

"Y^e^ sicknes is now agayne increaseing, as by y^e^ totalls

doth appeare, but yet is increased in the sicknes 33, and wholly in the City; divers fresh houses, since the returne of fresh psons hither, visited and swept" (*Dec.* 14).

From Pepys's "Diary."

"*June 7th.* — The hottest day that ever I felt in my life. This day, much against my will, I did in Drury Lane see two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and 'Lord, have mercy upon us,' writ there; which was a sad sight to me, being the first of the kind that to my remembrance I ever saw."

"*June 17th.* — It struck me very deep this afternoon going with a hackney coach from [the] Lord Treasurer's down Holborne, the Coachman I found to drive easily and easily, at last stood still, and came down hardly able to stand, and told me that he was suddenly struck very sick, and almost blind, he could not see; so I light and went into another coach, with a sad heart for the poor man, and for myself also, lest he should have been struck with the Plague."

"*June 20th.* — This day I informed myself that there died four or five at Westminster, of the Plague, in several houses upon Sunday last, in Bell Alley, over against the Palace-gate."

"*June 21st.* — I find all the town going out of town, the coaches and carriages being all full of people going into the country."

"*June 25th.* — The Plague increases mightily, I this day seeing a house, at a bitt-maker's over against St. Clement's Church, in the open street, shut up; which is a sad sight."

"*June 28th.* — In my way to Westminster Hall I observed several Plague houses in King's Street and the Palace."

"*June 29th.* — To Whitehall, where the court was full of waggons and people ready to go out of town. This end of the town every day grows very bad of the Plague. The Mortality Bill is come to 267; which is about ninety

more than the last. — Home; calling at Somerset House, where all were packing up too."

"*July 6th.* — I could not see Lord Brouncker, nor had much mind, one of the great houses within two doors of him [in Covent Garden] being shut up: and Lord! the number of houses visited, which this day I observed through the town, quite round in my way by Long Lane and London Wall."

"*July 22nd.* — I by coach home, not meeting with but two coaches, and but two carts from White Hall to my own house, that I could observe, and the streets mighty thin of people."

"*July 19th.* — Walked to Redriff, where I hear the sickness is, and, indeed, it is scattered almost everywhere. My Lady Carteret did this day give me a bottle of Plague water home with me."

"*August 30th.* — I went forth and walked towards Moorfields to see (God forgive my presumption!) whether I could see any dead corpse going to the grave; but, as God would have it, did not. But Lord! how everybody looks, and discourses in the street of death, and nothing else, and few people going up and down, that the town is like a place distressed and forsaken."

"*September 6th.* — To London, and there I saw fires burning in the streets, through the whole city, by the Lord Mayor's order. Thence by water to the Duke of Albemarle's (at Whitehall): all the way fires on each side of the Thames: and strange to see in broad daylight, two or three burials upon the Bankside, one at the very heels of another: doubtless all of the Plague; and yet at least forty or fifty people going along with every one of them."

"*September 14th.* — And Lord! to see how I did endeavour all I could to talk with as few as I could, there being now no observation of shutting up of houses infected, that to be sure we do converse and meet with people that have the Plague upon them."

"*September 20th.* — To Lambeth: but Lord! what a sad time it is to see no boats upon the river; and grass

grows all up and down Whitehall Court, and nobody but wretches in the streets! And what is worst of all, the Duke (of Albemarle) showed us the number of the Plague this week, brought in last night from the Lord Mayor; that it is increased about 600 more than the last, which is quite contrary to our hopes and expectations, from the coldness of the late season."

"*October* 16*th.*— Walked to the Tower; but Lord! how empty the streets are and melancholy, so many poor sick people in the streets full of sores; and so many sad stories overheard as I walk, — everybody talking of this dead, and that man sick, and so many in this place, and so many in that. And they tell me that in Westminster, there is never a physician, and but one apothecary left, all being dead; yet there are great hopes of a great decrease this week. God send it!"

"*December* 13*th.* — The Plague is increased again this week, notwithstanding there hath been a long day or two great frosts; but we hope it is only the effects of the late close warm weather, and if the frost continue the next week, may fall again; but the town do thicken so much with people, that it is much if the Plague do not grow again upon us."

"*December* 31*st.* — Many of such as I knew very well, are dead; yet to our great joy the town fills again, and shops begin to be open again. Pray God continue the Plague's decrease, for that keeps the Court away from the place of business, and so all goes to wrack as to public matters."

"*January* 19*th,* 1666. — It is a remarkable thing how infinitely naked all that end of the town, Covent Garden, is at this day, of people; while the city is again almost as full of people as ever it was."

From Evelyn's "Diary."

"*August* 28*th.* — The contagion still increasing and growing now all about us, I sent my wife and whole family (two or three necessary servants excepted) to my

brother's at Wotton, being resolved to stay at my house myself and to look after my charge, trusting in the providence and goodness of God."

"*September 7th.* — I went all along the city and suburbs from Kent Street to St. James's, a dismal passage, and dangerous to see so many coffins exposed in the streets, now thin of people; the shops shut up, and all in mournful silence, as not knowing whose turn it might be next: there perishing nearly 10,000 poor creatures weekly. I went to ye Duke of Albemarle for a Pest-ship, to wait on our infected men, who were not a few."

"*October 11th.* — Went through the whole city, when having occasion to alight in several places about business of money, I was environed with multitudes of poor pestiferous creatures, begging alms: the shops universally shut up, a dreadful prospect."

INTRODUCTION

IN *A New Voyage Round the World, By a Course never Sailed before*, Defoe was making over material which he had previously used. His acquaintance with books of travel and his extensive knowledge of remote parts of the earth had already shown themselves in *Colonel Jacque*, *Moll Flanders*, *Captain Avery*, *Captain Singleton*, and *Robinson Crusoe*. They show themselves again in the realistic tale of adventures, mostly by sea, which makes up the present volume.

The *New Voyage*, according to the story, was undertaken partly as a privateering expedition, partly for trade, and partly for exploration. The hero, who remains nameless throughout the narrative, took out letters of marque as an excuse for attacking any Spanish merchantmen that he might be fortunate enough to fall in with. At the same time, he carried with him a French captain, and over thirty French sailors, that his ship, passing for French, might trade peaceably, when occasion offered, in any of the Spanish colonies. The anonymous hero sailed from the Thames on the twentieth of December, 1713. In January, 1714, he left Flanders, where he had taken on board his Frenchmen, and in April and May, he was off the eastern coast of South America.

Though he approached Cape Horn, gales drove his ship so far away that he made for the Cape of Good Hope, resolving to go round the world from west to east, rather than from east to west.

Defoe's dates are somewhat contradictory, but we infer that his hero left the Cape in September, 1714. The next May, having touched at Madagascar and the East Indies, he reached Manila in the Philippines. Going thence, and touching as he went at the Ladrones and Guam, he reached the west coast of South America in eight months. About the first of the next year, he rounded Cape Horn. And in April, 1717, he arrived at Dunkirk, where his voyage came virtually to an end.

Not only did Defoe use old material in *A New Voyage Round the World*, but he treated it in substantially the same old way. So far as there is a difference, this latest tale of adventure suffers by comparison with the others. The captain, not possessed of even a name, has even less individuality than most of Defoe's heroes. Nor are the French Captain Mirlotte and the courteous Spaniard, who lives in southern Chile, much more individual. The narrative, in short, relies for its interest, not on the characters but on the incidents, which are related in the manner of Defoe that we are already familiar with. There is always circumstantial reality, notably in the story of the attempted mutiny, in the visit of the captain to the Spanish gentleman in Chile, and later in the account of the expedition through Patagonia — an expedition which recalls Captain Singleton's across Africa. Moreover, in describing

all the adventures, Defoe is limited as usual by a sense of fact. His hero sees animals somewhat different from any in England, and rich gold fields, and frightful volcanoes, but never anything beyond the imagination of the most prosaic man.

A New Voyage was the last largely imaginative story[1] of its kind that Defoe was to write. It was published in November, 1724, with the title in full: —*A New Voyage Round the World, By a Course never Sailed before. Being a Voyage undertaken by some Merchants, who afterwards proposed the setting up of an East India Company in Flanders.*

G. H. MAYNADIER.

[1] *An Account of the Conduct and Proceedings of the late John Gow*, published June 11th, 1725, is a tale of piracy, but much shorter than *A New Voyage*, and largely narrative of actual fact.

A NEW VOYAGE ROUND *the* WORLD

IT has for some ages been thought so wonderful a thing to sail the tour or circle of the globe, that when a man has done this mighty feat he presently thinks it deserves to be recorded, like Sir Francis Drake's. So, as soon as men have acted the sailor, they come ashore and write books of their voyage, not only to make a great noise of what they have done themselves, but, pretending to show the way to others to come after them, they set up for teachers and chart-makers to posterity. Though most of them have had this misfortune, that whatever success they have had in the voyage, they have had very little in the relation, except it be to tell us that a seaman, when he comes to the press, is pretty much out of his element, and a very good sailor may make but a very indifferent author.

I do not in this lessen the merit of those gentlemen who have made such a long voyage as that round the globe; but I must be allowed to say, as the way is now a common road, the reason of it thoroughly known, and the occasion of it more frequent than in former times, so the world has done wondering at it; we no more look upon it as a mighty thing, a strange and never-heard-of undertaking. This cannot be now expected of us, the thing is made familiar, every

ordinary sailor is able to do it, if his merchants are but qualified to furnish him for so long a voyage; and he that can carry a ship to Lisbon, may with the same ease carry it round the world.

Some tell us it is enough to wonder at a thing nine days; one would reasonably then conclude that it is enough that sailing round the world has been wondered at above a hundred years. I shall therefore let the reader, know that it is not the rarity of going round the world that has occasioned this publication, but if some incidents have happened in such a voyage, as either have not happened to others, or as no other people, though performing the same voyage, have taken notice of, then this account may be worth publishing, though the thing, viz., the voyage round the world, be in itself of no value.

It is to be observed of the several navigators whose voyages round the world have been published, that few, if any, of them have diverted us with that variety which a circle of that length must needs offer. We have very little account of their landings, their diversions, the accidents which happened to them, or to others by their means. The stories of their engagements, when they have had any scuffle either with natives or European enemies, are told superficially and by halves; the storms and difficulties at sea or on shore have nowhere a full relation; and all the rest of their accounts are generally filled up with directions for sailors coming that way, the bearings of the land, the depth of the channels, entrances, and bars at the several ports, anchorage in the bays and creeks, and the like things, useful indeed for seamen going thither again — and how few are they?

— but not at all to the purpose when we come expecting to find the history of the voyage.

Another sort of these writers have just given us their long journals, tedious accounts of their log work, how many leagues they sailed every day, where they had the winds, when it blew hard, and when softly, what latitude in every observation, what meridian distance, and what variation of the compass. Such is the account of Sir John Narbrough's voyage to the South Seas, adorned with I know not how many charts of the famous Strait of Magellan, a place only now famous for showing the ignorance of Sir John Narbrough, and a great many wise gentlemen before him, and for being a passage they had no need to have troubled themselves with, and which nobody will ever go through any more.

Such also are the voyages of Captain John Wood to Nova Zembla, at the charge of the public, in King Charles II.'s time, and Martin Frobisher to the North-West Passages, in Queen Elizabeth's time; all which are indeed full of their own journals, and the incidents of sailing, but have little or nothing of story in them for the use of such readers who never intend to go to sea; and yet such readers may desire to hear how it has fared with those that have, and how affairs stand in those remote parts of the world.

For these reasons, when I first set out upon a cruising and trading voyage to the east, and resolved to go anywhere and everywhere that the advantages of trade or the hopes of purchase should guide us, I also resolved to take such exact notice of everything that passed within my reach, that I should be able, if I lived to come home, to give an account of my voyage, differing from all that I had ever seen before,

in the nature of the observations, as well as in the manner of relating them; and as this is perfectly new in its form, so I cannot doubt but it will be agreeable in the particulars, seeing either no voyage ever made before had such variety of incidents happening in it, so useful and so diverting, or no person that sailed on those voyages has thought fit to publish them after this manner.

Having been fitted out in the river of Thames so lately as the year 1713, and on a design perhaps not very consistent with the measures taken at that time for the putting an end to the war, I must be obliged to own I was at first obliged to act not in my own name, but to put in a French commander into the ship, for the reasons which follow, and which those who understand the manner of trade upon closing the late war — I mean the trade with Spain — will easily allow to be just and well grounded.

During the late war between Great Britain and her confederates on one side, and the united crowns of France and Spain on the other side, we all know the French had a free trade into the South Seas; a trade carried on with the greatest advantage, and to the greatest degree that any particular commerce has been carried on in the world for many ages past; insomuch that we found the return of silver that came back to France by those ships was not only the enriching of the merchants of St. Malo, Rochelle, and other ports in France, some of whom we saw get immense estates in a few years, even to a million sterling a man, but it was evident the King of France himself was enabled, by the circulation of so much bullion through his mints, to carry on that war with very great advantage.

It was just at the close of this war, when some merchants of London looking with envy on the success of that trade, and how the French, notwithstanding the peace, would apparently carry it on, for some years at least, to infinite advantage, began to consider whether it might not be possible to come in for a snack with France, as they were allied to Spain, and yet go abroad in the nature of a private cruiser.

To bring this to pass it was thought proper, in the first place, to get a share, if possible, in a new design of an East India trade in Flanders, just then intended to be set up by some British merchants, by the assistance of an imperial charter, or, at least, under colour of it, and so we might go to sea in a threefold capacity, to be made use of as occasion might present; viz., when on the coast of New Spain we sought to trade we were Frenchmen, had a French captain, and a sufficient number of French seamen, and Flemish or Walloon seamen, who spoke French, so to appear on all proper occasions. When at sea we met with any Spanish ship worth our while, we were English cruisers, had letters of marque from England, had no account of the peace, and were fitted for the attack. And when in the East Indies we had occasion to trade, either at the English or Dutch settlements, we should have imperial colours, and two Flemish merchants, at least in appearance, to transact everything as we found occasion. However, this last part of our project failed us, that affair not being fully ripe.

As this mysterious equipment may be liable to some exceptions, and perhaps to some inquiries, I shall for the present conceal my name, and that of the ship also. By inquiries I mean inquiries of pri-

vate persons concerned, for as to public inquiries, we have no uneasiness, having acted nothing in contradiction to the rules and laws of our country; but I say, as to private persons, it is thought fit to prevent their inquiries, to which end the captain, in whose name I write this, gives me leave to make use of his name, and conceal my own.

The ship sailed from the river the 20th of December 1713, and went directly over to the coast of Flanders, lying at anchor in Nieuport Pitts, as they are called, where we took in our French captain, Jean Michael Mirlotte, who, with thirty-two French seamen, came on board us in a large scow from Dunkirk, bringing with them one hundred and twenty-two small ankers or rundlets of brandy, and some hampers and casks of French wine, in wickered bottles. While we were here we lay under English colours, with pendants flying, our ship being upwards of five hundred tons, and had forty-six guns mounted, manned with three hundred and fifty-six men. We took the more men on board, because we resolved, as occasion should present, to fit ourselves with another ship, which we did not question we should meet with in the South Seas.

We had also a third design in our voyage, though it may be esteemed an accident to the rest, viz., we were resolved to make some attempts for new discoveries as opportunity offered; and we had two persons on board who were exceedingly well qualified for our direction in this part, all which was derived from the following occasion.

The person who was principally concerned in the adventure was a man not only of great wealth, but of great worth; he was particularly addicted to what

we call new discoveries, and it was indeed upon his genius to such things that the first thought of the voyage was founded. This gentleman told us that he had already sent one ship, fully equipped and furnished, for a new attempt upon the North-West or North-East Passages, which had been so often in vain tried by former navigators; and that he did not question the success, because he had directed them by new measures, and to steer a course that was never attempted yet; and his design in our voyage was to make like discoveries towards the South Pole, where, as he said, and gave us very good reasons for it, he did not doubt but we might discover even to the Pole itself, and find out new worlds and new seas, which had never been heard of before.

With these designs this gentleman came into the other part of our project, and contributed the more largely, and with the more freedom to the whole upon that account; in particular, all the needful preparations for such discoveries were made wholly at his expense, which I take notice of here, as being most proper in the beginning of our story, and that the reader may the less wonder at the odd way we took to perform a voyage, which might with much more ease have been done by the usual and ordinary way.

We sailed from the coast of Flanders the 2nd of January, and without any extraordinary incident made the coast of Galway in Ireland the 10th, where we stayed and took in a very extraordinary store of provisions, three times as much as usual; the beef being also well pickled or double packed, that we might have a sufficient reserve for the length of our voyage, resolving also to spare it as much as possible.

We had a very rich cargo on board, consisting of all sorts of British manufacture suitable for the Spanish trade in their West Indies; and as we aimed at nothing of trade till we came to the Spanish coast, we sailed directly for the Canary Islands, having not fully resolved whether we would make our voyage to the South Seas first, and so round the globe by the East Indies, as has been the ordinary way, or whether we would go first by the East Indies, and upon the discoveries we were directed to, and then cross the great Pacific Ocean to the west coast of America, as was at last resolved.

We made the Canaries the 11th of February, and coming to an anchor there to take in some fresh water, we put out French colours, and sent our boat on shore, with a French boatswain and all French seamen to buy what we wanted. They brought us on board five butts or pipes of wine and some provisions, and having filled our water, we set sail again the 13th. In this way we called a council among ourselves by which way we should go, as above.

I confess I was for going by the Cape of Good Hope first, and so to the East Indies, then keeping to the south of Java, go away to the Moluccas, where I made no doubt to make some purchase among the Dutch Spice Islands, and so go away to the Philippines; but the whole ship's company, I mean of officers, were against me in this scheme, although I told them plainly that the discoveries which would be made in such a voyage as that were the principal reasons why our chief owner embarked in the adventure, and that we ought to regard the end and design of our voyage; that it would certainly in the close of things amount to the same, as to trade, as if

we went the usual way, seeing the places we were to go to were the same one way as the other, and it was only putting the question which we should go to first; that all the navigators on such voyages as these went by the South Seas first, which would be no honour to us at all; but if we went by the East Indies first, we should be the first that ever went such a voyage, and that we might make many useful discoveries and experiments in trying that course; that it would be worth our while not only to go that way, but to have all the world take notice of it, and of us for it.

I used a great many arguments of the like nature, but they answered me most effectually with laying before me the difficulties of the voyage, and the contrary methods of trade, which, in a word, made the going that way impracticable: First, the difficulty of the voyage over the vast ocean called the Pacific Sea, or South Sea, which, if we kept a southern latitude, and took the variable winds as we should find them, as I proposed to do, might very well be a voyage of six or eight months, without any sight of land, or supply of provisions or water, which was intolerable; that, as to trade, it was preposterous, and just setting the voyage with the bottom upward; for, as we were laden with goods, and had no money, our first business was to go to the South Seas, where our goods were wanted, and would sell for money, and then to the East Indies, where our money would be wanting to buy other goods to carry home, and not to go to the East Indies first, where our goods would not sell, and where we could buy no other for want of money.

This was so strong a way of reasoning that they

were all against me, as well French as English, and even the two agents for discoveries submitted to it; and so we resolved to stand away from the Canaries, to the coast of Brazil, thence upon the eastern coast of South America to Cape Horn, and then into the South Seas; and if we met with anything that was Spanish by the way, we resolved to make prize of it, as in a time of war.

Accordingly we made the coast of Brazil in about twenty-six days, from the Canary Islands, and went on shore at Cape St. Augustine for fresh water; afterwards we put into the Bay of All Saints, got some fresh provisions there, and about a hundred very good hogs, some of which we killed and pickled up their flesh, and carried the rest on board alive, having taken on board a great quantity of roots and maize, or Indian corn, for their food, which they thrived on very well.

It was the last of March when we came to the bay, and having stayed there fourteen days to furnish ourselves with all things we wanted, we got intelligence there that there were three ships at the Buenos Ayres, in the Rio de la Plata, which were preparing to go for Europe, and that they expected two Spanish men-of-war to be their convoy, because of the Portuguese men-of-war which were in Brazil, to convoy the Brazil fleet.

Their having two Spanish men-of-war with them for their convoy took away a great deal from the joy we had entertained at the news of their being there, and we began to think we should make little or nothing of it. However, we resolved to see the utmost of it, and particularly if our double appearance would not now stand us in some stead.

Accordingly we went away for the River of Plate, and, as usual, spreading French colours, we went boldly up to Buenos Ayres, and sent in our boat, manned with Frenchmen, pretending to be homeward bound from the South Seas, and in want of provisions. The Spaniards received us with civility enough, and granted us such provisions as we wanted; and here we found, to our great satisfaction, that there was no such thing as any Spanish man-of-war there; but they said they expected one, and the governor there for the King of Spain asked our French officer if we would take one of their ships under our convoy. Monsieur Mirlotte answered him warily, that his ship was deeply laden and foul, and he could not undertake anything, but if they would keep him company, he would do them what service he could; but that also as they were a rich ship, they did not design to go directly to France, but to Martinico, where they expected to meet with some French men-of-war to convoy them home. This answer was so well managed, though there was not one word of truth in it, that one of the three ships (for the other two were not ready) resolved to come away with us, and in an evil hour for them, they did so.

To be short, we took the innocent Spaniard into our convoy, and sailed away to the northward with them, but were not far at sea before we let them know what circumstances they were in, by the following method: We were about half a league ahead of them, when our captain, bringing to and hauling up our courses, made a signal to the Spaniards for the captain to come on board, which he very readily did. As soon as he was on board our captain let him know that he was our prisoner, and all his men,

and immediately manning their boat with thirty of our own men, we sent them on board their ship to take possession of her, but ordered them that they should behave civilly to the men on board, and plunder nothing, for we made a promise to the Spanish captain that his ship should not be plundered, upon condition he would give us a just account of his lading, and deliver peaceably to us what riches he had on board; then we also agreed that we would restore him his ship, which, by the way, we found was chiefly laden with hides, things of no value to us, and that the ship also was an old vessel, strong, but often doubled, and therefore a very heavy sailer, and consequently not at all fit for our purpose, though we greatly wanted a ship to take along with us, we having both too many men and being too full of goods, as I have said above.

The Spanish captain, though surprised with the stratagem that had brought him thus into the hands of his enemies, and greatly enraged in his mind at being circumvented, and trepanned out of his ship, yet showed a great presence of mind under his misfortune; and, as I verily believe, he would have fought us very bravely if we had let him know fairly what we were; so he did not at all appear dejected at his disaster, but capitulated with us as if he had been talking sword in hand. And one time when our captain and he could not agree, and the Spanish captain was a little threatened, he grew warm; told the captain that he might be ill-used, being in his hands, but that he was not afraid to suffer whatever his ill-fortune had prepared for him, and he would not, for fear of ill-usage, yield to base conditions; that he was a man of honour, and if he (our captain)

was so too, he demanded to be put on board his own ship again, and he should see he knew how to behave himself. Our captain smiled at that, and told him he was not afraid to put him on board his own ship and fight for her again, and that if he did so, he was sure he could not escape him. The Spanish captain smiled too, and told him he should see (if he did) that he knew the way to heaven from the bottom of the sea as well as any other road, and that men of courage were never at a loss to conquer their enemy one way or other, intimating that he would sink by his side rather than be taken, and that he would take care to be but a very indifferent prize to him if he was conquered.

However, we came to better terms with him afterward; and, in short, having taken on board all the silver, which was about 200,000 pieces of eight, and whatever else we met with that was valuable, among the rest his ammunition and six brass guns, we performed conditions and sent him into the Rio de la Plata again with his ship to let the other Spanish captains know what scouring they had escaped.

We got a good booty here, indeed, but were disappointed of a ship. However, we were not so sensible of that disappointment now as we were afterwards; for, as we depended upon going to the South Seas, we made no doubt of meeting with vessels enough for our purpose; what followed, we shall soon see.

We had done our work here, and had neither any occasion or any desire to lie any longer on this coast, where the climate was bad and the weather exceedingly hot, and where our men began to be very un-

easy, being crowded together so close all in one ship, so we made the best of our way south.

We met with some stormy weather in these seas, and particularly a north-west blast, which carried us for eleven days or thereabouts a great way off to sea; but as we had sea-room enough, and a stout strong-built ship under us, perfectly well prepared, tight and firm, we made light of the storms we met with, and soon came into our voyage's way again; so that about the 4th of May we made land in the latitude of forty-five degrees twelve minutes south.

We put in here for fresh water, and finding nothing of the land marked in our charts, we had no knowledge of the place, but coming to an anchor about a league from the shore, our boat went in quest of a good watering-place; in pursuit of this they went up a creek about two leagues more, where they found good water, and filled some casks, and so came on board to make their report.

The next day we came into the creek's mouth, where we found six or eight fathoms water within cable's length of the shore, and found fresh water enough, but no people or cattle, though an excellent country for both.

Of this country I made many observations, suitable to the design and desire of our ingenious employer and owner, and which are one end of publishing this voyage. I shall mention only one here, because I shall come to speak of it again on another occasion more largely. My observation here is as follows: —

An Observation concerning the Soil and Climate of the Continent of America, south of the River de la Plata, and how suitable to the genius, the constitution, and the manner of living of Englishmen, and consequently of an English colony.

The particular spot which I observe upon is that part of the continent of America which lies on the shore of the North Seas, as they are called, though falsely, for they are more properly the East Seas, being extended along the east shores of South America. The land lies on the same east sides of America, extending north and south from Costa Deserta, in forty-two degrees, to Port St. Julian, in forty-nine and a half degrees, being almost 500 miles in length, full of very good harbours, and some navigable rivers; the land is a plain for several scores of miles within the shore, with several little rising hills, but nowhere mountainous or stony, well adapted for enclosing, feeding, and grazing cattle; also for corn, all sorts of which would certainly not only grow but thrive very well here, especially wheat, rye, peas, and barley, things which would soon be improved by Englishmen, to the making the country rich and populous, the raising great quantities of grain of all sorts, and cattle in proportion. The trade which I propose for the consumption of all the produce, and the place whither to be carried, I prefer to speak of it by itself, in the further pursuit of this work.

I return now to the pursuit of our voyage. We put to sea again the 10th of May, with fair weather and a fair wind, though a season of the year, it is

true, when we might have reason to expect some storms, being what we might call the depth of their winter. However, the winds held northerly, which there are to be esteemed the warm winds, and bringing mild weather; and so they did, till we came into the latitude of fifty degrees, when we had strong winds and squally weather, with much snow and cold, from the S.W. and S.W. by W., which blowing very hard, we put back to Port St. Julian, where we were not able to stir for some time.

We weighed again the 29th, and stood south again, passed the mouth of the Strait of Magellan, a strait famous for many years for being thought to be the only passage out of the North Seas into the South Seas, and therefore, I say, famous some ages not only in the discovery of it by Magellan, a Spanish captain, but of such significance, that for many years it was counted a great exploit to pass this strait, and few have ever done of our nation but that they have thought fit to tell the world of it, as an extraordinary business, fit to be made public, as an honour to their names. Nay, King Charles the Second thought it worth while to send Sir John Narbrough on purpose to pass and take an exact survey of this strait, and the map or plan of it has been published by Sir John himself, at the public expense, as a useful thing.

Such a mighty and valuable thing also was the passing this strait, that Sir Francis Drake's going through it gave birth to that famous old wives' saying, viz., that Sir Francis Drake shot the gulf, a saying that was current in England for many years, I believe near a hundred after Sir Francis Drake was gone his long journey of all, as if there had been but one gulf in the world, and that passing it had

been a wonder next to that of Hercules cleaning the Augean stable.

Of this famous place I could not but observe on this occasion, that as ignorance gave it its first fame, and made it for so many ages the most eminent part of the globe, as it was the only passage by which the whole world could be surrounded, and that it was every man's honour that had passed it as above, so now it has come to the full end or period of its fame, and will, in all probability, never have the honour to have any ship, vessel, or boat go through it more, while the world remains, unless (which is very improbable) that part of the world should come to be fully inhabited. I know some are of opinion that before the full period of the earth's existence all the remotest and most barren parts of it shall be peopled; but I see no ground for such a notion, but many reasons which would make it appear to be impracticable, and indeed impossible, unless it should please God to alter the situation of the globe, as it respects the sun, and place it in a direct, as it now moves in an oblique, position; or that a new species of mankind should be produced who might be as well qualified to live in the frozen zone as we are in the temperate, and upon whom the extremity of cold could have no power. I say, as there are several parts of the globe where this would be impracticable, I shall say no more than this, that I think it is a groundless suggestion.

But to return to our voyage. We passed by the mouth of this famous strait De Magellan, and those others which were passed through by Le Maire, the Dutchman, afterwards, and keeping an offing of six or seven leagues, went away south, till we came to

the latitude of fifty-eight, when we would, as we had tried three days before, have stretched away south-west to have got into the South Seas, but a strong gale of wind took us at W.N.W., and though we could (lying near to it) stretch away to the southward, yet, as it over-blowed, we could make no westward way; and though we had under us an excellent strong-built vessel that valued not the waves, and made very good work of it, yet we went away to leeward in spite of all we could do, and lost ground amain. We held it out, however, the weather being clear, but excessive cold, till we found ourselves in the latitude of sixty-four.

We called our council several times to consider what we should do, for we did but drive to leeward; the longer we strove with it, the gale held still, and to our apprehensions, it was set in, blowing like a kind of monsoon, or trade wind, though in these latitudes I know there is no such thing, properly called, as a trade wind.

We tried (the wind abating) to beat up again to the north, and we did so, but it was by running a great way to the east; and once, I believe, we were in the latitude of St. Helena, though so far south, but it cost us infinite labour, and near six weeks' time. At length we made the coast, and arrived again at the port of St. Julian the 20th of June, which, by the way, is the depth of their winter.

Here we resolved to lay up for the winter, and not attempt to go so far south again at that time of year; but our eager desire of pursuing our voyage prevailed, and we put out to sea again, having taken in fresh provisions, such as are to be had there, that is to say, seals, penguins, and such like trade, and

with this recruit we put to sea, I say, a second time.

We had this time worse luck than we had before, for the wind setting in at south-west, blew a storm, and drove us with such force away to sea eastward, that we were never able to make any way to the southward at all, but were carried away with a continued storm of wind from the same corner, or near it, our pilot, or master as we called him, finding himself often obliged to go away before it, and it kept us out so long at sea, and we were gone so far to the north-east eastward, that he advised us to stand away for the Cape of Good Hope; and accordingly we did so, and arrived at the Cape the last day of July. We were now dead-hearted indeed, and I began to revive my proposal of going to the East Indies, as I had at first intended; and to answer the objection which they made against it, as being against the nature of trade, and that we had nothing on board but European goods, which were not fitted for the East Indies, where money only was suitable to the market we were to make — I say, to answer this objection, I told them I would engage that I would sell our whole cargo at the Philippine Islands as well as on the coast of America; so that those islands being Spanish, our disguise of being French would serve us as well at the Philippines as it would in New Spain; and with this particular advantage, that we should sell here for four times the value we should on the coast of Chili or Peru; and that when we had done, we could load our ship again there, or in other places in the Indies, with such goods as would come to a good market again in New Spain.

This I told them was indeed what had not been practised, nor at any other time would it be practicable; for as it was not usual for any ships to go from the East Indies to the Philippines, so neither was it usual for any European ships to trade with freedom to the South Seas, till since the late war, when the French had the privilege; and I could not but be amazed that the French had never gone this way, where they might have made three or four voyages in one, and with much less hazard of meeting with the English or Dutch cruisers, and have made twice the profits which they made the other way, where they were frequently out three or four years upon one return, whereas here they might make no less than three returns, or perhaps four, in the same voyage, and in much less time.

They were now a little surprised, for in all our first debates we had nothing of this matter brought in question; only they entertained a notion that I was going upon strange projects, to make discoveries, search for the South Pole, plant new colonies, and I know not how many whims of their own, which were neither in my design or in my instructions. The person therefore who was our supercargo, and the other captain whose name I have not mentioned, together with the French Captain Mirlotte, and the rest who had all opposed me before, came cheerfully into my proposal, only the supercargo told me in the name of the rest that he began to be more sensible of the advantages of the voyage I had proposed than he was before; but that as he was entrusted, together with me, in the government of the trading part, for I was empowered equally with him too, he begged I would not take it ill that he desired I

would let him further into that particular, and explain myself at least as far as I thought fit.

This was so just a request, and so easy for me to do, and, above all, was made with so much good manners and courtesy, that I told him if I had been otherwise determined, the courteous and good-humoured way with which he required it, would constrain me to it; but that, however, I was very ready to do it, as he was entrusted with the cargo equally with me, and that it was a piece of justice to the owners, that whom they thought fit to trust, I should trust also; upon this I told him my scheme was as follows: —

First, I told him, that as the Philippine Islands received all their European goods from Acapulco, in America, by the King of Spain's ships, they were obliged to give what price was imposed upon them by the merchants, who brought those goods by so many stages to Acapulco. For example, the European goods, or suppose English goods in particular, with which they were laden, went first from England to Cadiz, from Cadiz by the galleons to Porto Bello, from Porto Bello to Panama, from Panama to Acapulco, in all which places the merchants had their several commissions and other profits upon the sale; besides the extravagant charges of so many several ways of carriage, some by water, some by land, and besides the king's customs in all those places; and that after all this, they were brought by sea from Acapulco to the Philippine Islands, which was a prodigious voyage, and were then generally sold in the Philippine Islands at three hundred per cent. advance.

That, in the room of all this, our cargo being well

bought and well sorted, would come to the Philippine Islands at once, without any landing or re-landing, and without any of all the additions of charge to the first cost, as those by the way of New Spain had upon them; so that if we were to sell them at the Philippine Islands a hundred per cent. cheaper than the Spaniards usually sold, yet we should get abundantly more than we could on the coast of Peru, though we had been allowed a free trade there.

That there were but two objections to this advantage, and these were our liberty of trading, and whether the place would consume the quantity of goods we had. And to this I had much to answer; first, that it was well known at the Philippine Isles that the kings of France and Spain were united firmly together; that the King of Spain had allowed the King of France's subjects a free trade in his American dominions, and consequently that it would not be denied there; but, on the other hand, that if it was denied by the governor, yet there would be room to find out a trade with the inhabitants, and especially with the Chinese and Japan merchants, who were always there, which trade the governor could not prevent; and thus we could not fear a market for all our cargo if it was much greater than it was.

That as to the returns, we had the advantage either way. For, first, we should be sure to receive a great part of the price of our goods in Chinese or Japan gold and silver, or in pieces of eight; or, if we thought fit to trade another way, we might take on board such a quantity of China damasks, and other wrought silks, muslins, and chintz, China ware, and Japan ware,

all which would be immediately sold in America; that we should carry a cargo of these goods to New Spain, infinitely to our advantage, being the same cargo which the four great Acapulco ships carry back with them every year. That when we had gone to the South Seas with this cargo, of which we knew we should make a good market, we had nothing to do but to come back if we thought fit to the East Indies again, where we might load for England or Flanders such goods as we thought proper; or, if we did not think fit to take so great a run, we might go away to the south, and round by Cape Horn into the Atlantic Ocean, and perfect those discoveries which we made part of in the beginning of our voyage.

This was so clear a scheme of trade, that he seemed surprised with it, and fully satisfied in every part of it. But the captain then objected against the length of the voyage to the South Seas from the Philippines, and raised several scruples about the latitude which we should keep in such a voyage; that we should not be able to carry any provisions which we could take on board in these hot countries that would keep for so long a run, and several other difficulties; to all which I made answer, that when we had sold our cargo at the Philippines, and found our advantages there to answer our desires, I would not oppose our returning from thence directly to England if they found it needful; or if they thought a further adventure would not answer the risks we were to expect in it, and that we would never have any dispute about that.

This satisfied them fully, and they went immediately with the news to the men, as what they thought

would please them wonderfully, seeing they were mighty uneasy but two or three days before, about their being to go back again to the south of America, and the latitude of sixty-four, where we had not only been twice driven back, as if Heaven had forbidden us to pass that way, but had been driven so far to the south that we had met with a most severe cold, and which pinched our men exceedingly, who being come, as we might say, a hot weather voyage, were but ill furnished for the weather usual in the latitudes of sixty-four.

But we had a harder task to go through than we expected upon this occasion, and it may stand here upon record, as a buoy or beacon, to warn officers and commanders of ships, supercargoes, and such as are trusted in the conduct of the voyage, never to have any disputes among themselves (I say, not among themselves) about the course they shall take, or whither they shall go, for it never fails to come among the men after them; and if once the debate is but named on the outside of the great cabin door, it becomes immediately a dispute among the officers upon the quarter-deck, the lieutenants, mates, purser, &c.; from thence it gets afore the mast, and into the cook-room, and the whole ship is immediately divided into factions and parties; every foremast man is a captain; every boatswain, gunner, carpenter, cockswain, nay, and even the cook, sets up for a leader of the men; and if two of them join parties, it is ten to one but it comes to a mutiny, and perhaps to one of the two last extremes of all mutinies, viz., running away from the ship, or running away with the ship.

Our case was exactly thus, and had issued accord-

ingly, for aught I know, if we had not been in a port where we got immediate assistance, and that by a more than ordinary vigour in the management too.

I have mentioned the first time when we called a council about our voyage at the Canaries, and how it was carried against my opinion not to go to the East Indies, but to go to the South Seas, about by Cape Horn. As the debate of this was not at all concealed, the officers of the ship, viz., the two lieutenants and two mates, the purser, and others, came in and went out, and not only heard all we said, but talked of it at liberty on the quarter-deck, and where they pleased, till it went among the whole ship's crew. It is true there came nothing of all this at that time, because almost all the votes being against my opinion, as I have said already, the ship's company seemed to join in naturally with it, and the men were so talked into the great prospects of gain to themselves by a voyage to the South Seas, that they looked upon me, who at the bottom had the chief direction of things, to be nobody, and to have only made a ridiculous proposal, which was against all their interest; and I perceived clearly after this, that they looked upon me with an evil eye, as one that was against their interest, nay, and treated me with a sort of contempt too, as one that had no power to hurt them, but as one that, if things were left to me, would carry them on a wild-goose chase, they knew not whither.

I took no notice of this at first, knowing that in the process of things I should have opportunity enough to let them know I had power to oblige them many ways; as also that I had authority sufficient to command the whole ship, and that the direction of

the voyage was principally in me, though I, being willing to do everything friendly, had too easily, and I may say, too foolishly, put that to the vote which I had a right to have commanded their compliance with, the consequences of which appeared not for some time, but broke out upon the occasion of our new measures, as you shall hear.

As soon as we had determined, as you have heard, our voyage among ourselves in the great cabin, the supercargo and Captain Mirlotte, as above, went out upon the quarter-deck, and began to talk of it among the officers, midshipmen, &c.; and, to give them their due, they talked of it very honestly, not with any complaint of being overruled, or over-persuaded or the like, but as a thing that was fully agreed to among us in the great cabin.

The boatswain, a blunt, surly, bold fellow, as soon as he heard of it: "Very well," says he; "so we are all come back into Captain ——'s blind proposal. Why, this is the same that everybody rejected at the Canaries; and now, because we are driven hither by contrary winds, those winds must be a reason why we must undertake a preposterous, ridiculous voyage, that never any sailor would have proposed, and that man never went before. What! does Captain —— think that we cannot find our way to the coast of America again? and because we have met with cross winds we must never meet with fair ones? I warrant him, let us but go up the heights of St. Helena, we will soon reach the Rio de la Plata and Port St. Julian again, and get into the South Seas too, as others have done before us."

The gunner took it from the boatswain, and he talks with one of the midshipmen in the same dialect.

"For my part," says he, "I shipped myself for the South Seas when I first came on board the ship, and in hopes of good booty, and if we go thither, I know nothing can hinder us, wind and weather permitting; but this is such a voyage as no man ever attempted before; and whatever he proposes can have nothing in it for the men but horrid fatigue, violent heats, sickness, and starving."

One of the mates takes it from him, and he says as openly, "I wonder what a plague the rest of the gentlemen mean, they were all against Captain —— when he started this whimsical voyage before, and now they come all into it of a sudden, without any consideration; and so the project of one man must ruin the most promising voyage in the world, and be the death of above two hundred as stout fellows as ever were together in one ship in this part of the world."

One of the midshipmen followed the mate, and said, "We were all promised that another ship should be gotten, either purchased or taken, and that the first ship we took should be manned and victualled out of this ship, where we are double manned and crowded together enough to bring an infection among us in such hot climates as we are going into; and if we were in the South Seas, we should easily buy a ship, or take a ship for our purpose, almost where we would; but in all this part of the world there is no such thing as a ship fit for an Englishman to set his foot in. We were promised too that when we got into such a ship, we that entered as midshipmen should be preferred to offices as we were qualified, and as our merit should recommend us. What they are going to do with us now I can't imagine, unless it be to turn us afore the

mast when half the foremast men are dead, and thrown overboard."

The master or pilot of the ship heard all these things, and sent us word into the great cabin of all that passed, and, in short, assured us, that if these things went a little further, he was afraid they would come up to a mutiny; that there was great danger of it already, and that we ought to apply some immediate remedy to it, or else he thought it would be too late. He told me the particulars also, and how the whole weight of their resentment seemed to tend to a quarrelling at my command, as believing that this project of going to the East Indies was wholly mine; and that the rest of the officers being a little influenced by the accident of our being driven so far out of our way, were only biassed in the rest by my opinion; and as they were all against it before, would have been so still if it had not been for me; and he feared, if they went on, they might enter into some fatal measures about me, and perhaps resolve to set me ashore in some barren, uninhabited land or other, to give me my bellyful of new discoveries, as it seems some of them had hinted, and the second mate in particular.

I was far from being insensible of the danger I was in, and indeed of the danger the whole voyage, ship and all, was in; for I made no question but that if their brutish rage led them to one villainous action, they would soon go on to another; and the devil would take hold of that handle to represent the danger of their being punished for it when they came home; and so, as has often been the case, prompt them to mutiny against all command, and run away with the ship.

However, I had presence of mind enough to enter into proper measures for our general safety, and to prevent the worst in case of any attempt upon me. First I represented the case to the rest of the gentlemen, and asked if they would stand by me, and by the resolutions which we had taken for the voyage; then I called in to our assistance the chief mate, who was a kinsman of one of our owners, a bold, resolute gentleman, and the purser, who we knew was faithful to us; as also the surgeon and the carpenter. I engaged them all to give me first their opinions whether they were convinced of the reasonableness of my scheme for the voyage I had proposed; and that they might judge for themselves, laid it all before them again, that they were convinced entirely of its being the most rational prospect of the voyage for us, of any we could go about.

When I had done this, I recommended it to them to expostulate with the men, and, if possible, to keep them in temper, and keep them to their duty; but, at the same time, to stand all ready, and upon a signal which I gave them, to come all to the steerage, and defend the great cabin door with all the other hands whom they could be sure of; and in the meantime to be very watchful over the motions of the men, and see what they drove at.

At the same time, I fortified myself with the French captain, and the supercargo, and the other captain; and, by the way, all the French captain's men were true to him (and he true to us) to a man. We then brought a sufficient store of ammunition and small-arms into the great cabin, and secured the steerage, as also the round-house, so that we could not possibly be surprised.

There was nothing done that night; but the next morning I was informed that the gunner and second mate were in close cabal together, and one or two of the midshipmen, and that they had sworn to one another, not that they would not go the voyage as was proposed, for that might have ended in their running away, which I should not have been sorry for; but in short, their oath was, that the ship should not go the voyage, by which I was presently to understand that they had some measures to take to prevent my design of the voyage to the Philippines, and that perhaps this was to run away with the ship to Madagascar, which was not far off.

I had, however, this apparent encouragement in this case, viz., that as the contrivance was yet but two days old, for it was but two days since they had any notice of our intentions to go, they would be some days caballing and forming an interest among the men, to make up a party strong enough to make any attempt, and that as I had a strong set of men who would be as diligent the other way, they would be heaving and contriving one way and the other way to get the men over to their opinion, so that, at least, it would be some time before they could make their party up.

The thing was rightly conjectured, and the three men above, who had made themselves the head of the mutineers, went on apace, and my men increased too, as much as could be desired for the time; but the Friday after, which was about five days from the first discovery, one of the midshipmen came and desired to speak with me, and desired it might not, if possible, be known that he was with me. I asked him if he desired to be alone; he said no, I might appoint

who I thought convenient that I could trust, but that what he had to say was of the last importance to all our lives, and that therefore he hoped I would be very sure of them who I trusted in such a case. Upon this I told him I would name the chief mate, the French captain, and the supercargo, and in the meantime I bid him not be too much surprised, for that I had already some warning of the thing which I believed he had to tell me of, and that I was preparing all things to disappoint it; that, however, I should not value his fidelity the less, and that he might speak freely his mind before those men, for they were all in the secret already, and he might be sure both of protection and reward.

Accordingly I bid him go out upon the quarter-deck, and walk there, and that when the chief mate went off into the round-house, he should go down between decks, as if he was going into his cabin to sleep, and that when he heard the chief mate call the cabin-boy, a black of mine, whose name was Spartivento, he should take that for a signal that the steerage was clear, and he might come up, and should be let into the great cabin; all which was so managed, and in so short a time, that he was with us in the great cabin in a quarter of an hour after the first conference, and none of the men perceived it.

Here he let me into the whole secret, and a black project it was, viz., that the second mate, the gunner, three midshipmen, the cockswain, and about six-and-thirty of the men, had resolved to mutiny and seize upon all us who were in the new project, as they called it, and to confine us first, then to set us on shore, either there where we were, or somewhere else, and so carry the ship away to the South Seas, and

then to do as they found convenient; that is to say, in a word, to seize upon me, the other captain, the French captain, the supercargo, chief mate, doctor, and carpenter, with some others, and run away with the ship.

He told me that they had not fully consulted all their measures, nor gained so many of the men as they intended; that they were to sound some more of the men the next morning; and as soon as they had made their number up to fifty, they were resolved to make the attempt, which they did not question would be by Thursday, and this was Monday morning; and that if they were then ready, they would make the onset at changing the watch the same evening. He added, that as they were to go on shore the next morning for fresh water, I should know the truth of it by this, that the second mate would come to me, and tell me that they wanted more water, and to know, if I pleased, the boats should go on shore, and that, if I pleased, he would go with them, or any else whom I pleased to appoint; and that upon supposition that I would leave it to him, to take who he thought fit to go with him, he would then take occasion to choose the principal conspirators, that they might, when they were on shore, consult their measures for good and all.

I had all that day (Monday) to order my preparations, and upon this plain intelligence I resolved to lose no time. Nor was it long before I resolved what to do; for as their design was desperate, so I had nothing but desperate remedies to provide. Having, therefore, as I say, settled my measures, I called for the coxswain and bid him man the pinnace, for that I was to go on shore, and I appointed only the super-

cargo, and the surgeon, and the French captain to go with me.

There were no English ships in the road, but there were about five Dutch ships, homeward bound, waiting for more, and three outward bound. As I passed by one of the outward bound East India ships, the French captain, as we had agreed before, pretended to know the ship, and that the commander was his old acquaintance, and asked me to give him leave to visit him, and told me he was sure he would make us all welcome. I seemed unwilling at first, telling him I intended to go on shore and pay my respects to the governor, and, as was usual, to ask him leave to buy some provisions, and that the governor would take it very ill if I did not go. However, upon his alleging that we would not stay, and that the Dutch captain, upon his going on board, would, he was sure, give us a letter of recommendation to the governor, by which we should have everything granted that we could desire — upon this, and his importunity, I seemed to consent, and we all went on board.

Captain Mirlotte, who spoke Dutch very well, hailed the ship, asked the captain's name, and then asked if he was on board; they answered yes. Then he bid them tell him, that the captain of the English ship was come to visit him; upon which immediately their chief mate bade them man the side, and stood at the side to receive us, and before we could get up the Dutch captain came upon the quarter-deck to meet me, and with great civility invited me into his cabin; and while we were there, the chief mate, by the captain's order, entertained the boat's crew with like civility.

When we were in the cabin, Captain Mirlotte told

the Dutch captain that we came indeed to him in the form of a visit, but that our business was of the greatest importance, and begged we might speak to him of it in the hearing of none but such as he could trust. The captain told us with the greatest openheartedness imaginable, that though we were strangers to him, yet we looked like honest men, and he would grant our desire; we should speak it in the hearing of none but those we could trust, for there should be nobody by but ourselves.

We made him fully sensible that we knew how obliging that compliment was, but begged he would admit any whom he thought worthy to be trusted with a secret of the last importance. He then carried it as far the other way, and told us that then he must call in the whole ship's company, for that there was not a man in the ship but he could trust his life in his hands. However, upon the whole, he sent everybody out of the cabin but us three and himself, and then desired we would speak our minds freely.

Captain Mirlotte, who spoke Dutch, began, but the captain interrupted him, and asked if the English captain (meaning me) spoke Dutch. He said no; upon which he asked Captain Mirlotte if he spoke English, and he said yes. Upon which he let me know that he understood English, and desired I would speak to him in English.

I was heartily glad of this, and began immediately with the story, for we had time little enough. I told him that he was particularly happy that, as he said, he could put his life in the hand of any man, the meanest in his ship; that my men were unhappily the reverse of his; and then beginning at the first

of the story, I gave him a full account of the whole, as related above.

He was extremely affected with it, and asked me what he could do to serve me, and assured me that he would not only do what in him lay, but would engage all the ships in the road to do the like, and the governor also on shore. I thanked him very sincerely, and told him that what at present was the thing I thought lay before me was this, viz., that the chief conspirators would be on shore to-morrow, with one, or perhaps two, of our boats, to fetch water and get some fresh provisions, and I would be very glad to have them seized upon by surprise when they were on shore, and that I then thought I could master the rest on board well enough.

"Leave that to me," says he. "I'll give the governor notice this evening, and as soon as they come on shore they shall be all seized. But," says he, "if you think they may incline to make any resistance, I'll write a line to the governor, and give it you now; then, when your men go on shore, order one or two of the principal rogues to go and wait on the governor with the letter from you, and when he receives it he shall secure them there; so they will be divided and taken with the more ease.

"In the meantime," adds he, "while this is doing on shore, I'll come on board your ship, with my long-boat and pinnace, and as many men as you please, to repay you the compliment of this visit, and assist you in reducing the rest."

This was so kind and so completely what I desired that I could have asked nothing more or less; and I accepted his visit in his barge, which I thought

would be enough, but was afraid that if more came our men might be alarmed, and take arms before I was ready; so we agreed upon that, and that if I desired more help I should hang out a signal, viz., a red ancient on the mizzen top.

All things being thus consulted, I returned on board, pretending to our men that I had spent so much time on board the Dutch ship that I could not go on shore; and indeed some of my men were so drunk that they could scarce sit to their oars; and the coxswain was so very drunk that I took occasion to ask leave publicly to leave him on board till the next day, giving the Dutch captain also a hint that he was in the conspiracy, and I should be glad to leave him on that account.

The next day, about nine o'clock, the second mate came to me and told me they wanted more water, and if I pleased to order the boat on shore, he would go, if I thought fit, and see if he could get any fresh provisions, the purser being indisposed. I told him yes, with all my heart; that the Dutch captain last night had given me a letter to the governor, to desire we might be furnished with whatever we had occasion for, and that I had thoughts of calling for him to go on shore and deliver it, and that perhaps the governor might make him some present in compliment to the English nation.

He seemed extremely pleased at this, and even elevated, and going out to give orders about the boat, ordered the long-boat and the shallop, and came in again and asked me who I pleased to have go along with him. I answered smilingly to him, "Pick and choose them yourself; only leave the pinnace's crew that went with me yesterday, because

they must go on board again to carry the Dutch captain a little present of English beer that I am going to send him, and fetch aboard their drunken coxswain, who was so drunk we were fain to leave him behind us."

This was just what he wanted; and we found he chose all the chief rogues of the conspiracy, such as the boatswain, the gunner, the midshipmen we spoke of, and such of the foremast-men as he had secured in his design; and of the rest we judged they were in the plot, because he took them with him; and thus, having the long-boat and the shallop, with about six-and-thirty men with them, away they went to fill water.

When they came on shore they had presently three Dutchmen, set by the Dutch captain unperceived by them, to be spies upon them, and to mark exactly what they did; and, at the same time, they found three boats of Dutchmen at the watering-place, for the captain had gotten two boats to go on shore from two other ships, full of men also, having acquainted them with the design. As soon as our boats came on shore, the men appeared to be all very much engaged in something more than ordinary, and instead of separating, as it was expected they should, they went all into one boat, and there they were mighty busily engaged in discourse one with another.

The Dutch captain had given the charge of these things to a brisk, bold fellow, his mate, and he took the hints the captain gave him so well, that nothing could have been better; for finding the men thus in a kind of cabal, he takes four of his men, with muskets on their shoulders, like the governor's men,

and goes with them to the Englishmen's boat, and asks for their officer, the second mate, who upon this appears. He tells them he comes from the governor to know if they were Englishmen, and what their business was on shore there. The mate answered they came from on board the English ship, that they were driven there from stress of weather, and hoped they might have leave to fill water and buy necessaries for their money. He told them he supposed the governor would not refuse them when he knew who they were, but that it was but good manners to ask leave. The Englishman told him that he had not yet filled any water, or bought any provisions, and that he had a letter to the governor from the captain, which he supposed was to pay the usual civilities to him, and to give the civility of asking leave, as was expected.

The Dutchman answered that was "Hael weel," that he might go and carry it if he pleased then, and if the governor gave them leave, all was right and as it should be; but that the men could not be admitted to come on shore till his return. Upon this, away goes the second mate of our ship and three of the men with him, whereof the gunner was one; for he had asked the Dutchman how many he might carry with him, and he told him three or four; and those he took, you may be sure, were of the particular men whom he had a confidence in, because of their conversing together by the way.

When they came to the governor, the mate sent in a message first, viz., that he was come from on board the English ship in the road, and that he had a letter from the captain to his excellency. The governor, who had notice given him of the business,

sends out word that the gentlemen should send in the letter, and the governor would give them an answer. In the meantime there appeared a guard of soldiers at the governor's house, and the four Englishmen were let into the outer room, where the door was shut after them, and the soldiers stood without the door, and more soldiers in another room, between them and the parlour which the governor sat in.

After some time the mate was called in, and the governor told him that he had read the letter which he had brought, and asked him, by an interpreter, if he knew the contents of it. He answered no. The governor replied he supposed not, for if he had, he would scarce have brought it; at the same time told him he was obliged to make him and all his men prisoners, at the request of their own captain, for a conspiracy to raise a mutiny, and run away with the ship. Upon which two great fat Dutchmen came up to him and bade him deliver his sword, which he did with some reluctance, for he was a stout, desperate, and strong fellow, but he saw it all to no purpose to dispute or resist.

At the same time the three men without were made prisoners also by the soldiers. When the governor had thus secured these men, he called them in and inquired the particulars of the case, and expostulated with them very courteously upon such a horrid, villainous practice, and inquired of them what the occasion could be, and hearing all they had to say in their defence, told them he could do nothing in it more till their captain came on shore, which would be in a day or two, and that in the meantime they must be content to remain in custody, which they did, separated from one another. They were

very civilly treated, but strictly kept from speaking with one another, or sending any messages to one another, or to the boats.

When this was done, the governor sent six files of musketeers down to the watering-place, with orders to secure all the Englishmen in the two boats, which was done. They pretended to make some resistance at first, being all very well armed; but the seamen of the three Dutch long-boats, joining themselves to the soldiers, and notice being given to the English seamen that if they fired one gun they should have no quarter, and especially their two principal men, the chief mate and the gunner, being absent, they submitted, and were all made prisoners also.

When this was done, of which the Dutch captain had notice by a signal from the shore, he came off in his shallop, with about sixteen seamen, and five or six gentlemen and officers, to pay his visit to me. I received him with all the appearance of ceremony imaginable, caused a handsome dinner to be prepared for him, and caused his men to be all treated upon the deck, and made mighty preparations for a feast.

But in the middle of all this Captain Mirlotte, with all his Frenchmen, being thirty-two, appeared in arms on the quarter-deck; the Dutch captain's attendants stood to their arms on the main deck, and I, with the supercargo, the doctor, and the other captain, leaving the Dutch captain and some men in the great cabin as a reserve, came to the steerage-door, cleared the steerage behind me, and stood there with a cutlass in my hand, but said nothing; neither was there a word spoke anywhere all the while.

In this juncture the chief mate, the faithful mid-

shipmen, the carpenter, and the gunner's mate, with about twenty men whom they could trust, went fore and aft between decks, and secured all the particular men that we had the least suspicion of, being no less than thirty-five more; these they secured, bringing them up into the steerage, where their hands were tied behind them, and they were commanded not to speak one word to another, upon pain of present death.

When this was done the chief mate came to me to the steerage-door, and passing by, went forward on with his men, entered the cook-room, and posted himself at the cook-room door. There might be still about eighty men upon the forecastle, and 'midships upon the open decks; and there they stood staring, and surprised at what was doing; but not being able to guess in the least what was meant, what was the cause of it, or what was intended to be done farther.

When I found all things ready, I stepped forward a step or two, and beckoning to the mate to command silence, I told the men that I was not disposed to hurt any man, nor had I done what I now did, but by necessity, and that I expected they should all submit; that if any one of them made the least resistance he was a dead man, but that if they would be easy and quiet, I should give a very good account to them all of every part of the voyage, or scheme of a voyage which I had laid, and which had been so ill represented to them.

Then I caused my commission, or letter of marque, to be read to them all, by which it appeared that I was really chief commander of the ship, and had a right to direct the voyage as I thought best; with a paper of written instructions, signed by the owners

and adventurers, and directed to me, with another paper of instructions to all the officers, to be directed by me in all things; which indeed was all news to them, for they did not think I was the chief captain or commander of the ship and voyage.

When I had done this, I gave them a long and full account of the reasons why I thought it best, as our present circumstances were stated, not to go to the South Seas first, but to go away to the Philippine Islands, and what great prospect of advantage to the owners there was as well as to the men; and that I wondered much that such measures were taking in the ship, as I heard there were; and that I was not, they might see, unprovided of means to reduce every one of them to their duty by force, and to punish those that were guilty as they deserved; but that I rather desired to win them by kindness; and that therefore I had resolved, that if any of them had any reason to dislike the voyage, they should be fairly set on shore, and should go to the second mate and his comrades; and as I named the second mate I told them what circumstances they were in, and how effectually they were secured.

This astonished them, and surprised them exceedingly, and some of them inquired more particularly into the circumstances of the said second mate and his fellows. I told them they were safe enough, and should remain so; for as I could prove they had all a villainous design to run away with the ship, and set me on shore, either here or in a worse place, I thought that only on account of my own safety such men were not fit to go in the ship, being once capable to entertain such horrid, mischievous thoughts, or that could be guilty of such villainy; and that if

any of them were of their minds, they were very welcome, if they thought fit, to go to them. At this word, some bold rogues upon the forecastle, which I did not discern by reason of the number that stood there, cried out, "One and all!" — which was a cry at that time of mutiny and rebellion, that was certain, and in its kind very dangerous.

However, to let them see I was not to be daunted with it, I called out to one of the men among them, who I saw upon the forecastle: "You, Jones," says I, "tell me who that was, and come away from them, for I'll make an example of him, whoever he is." Will Jones slunk in among the rest, and made me no answer, and immediately "One and all!" was cried again, and a little huzza with it, and some of the men appeared to have some firearms with them. There was a great many of them, and I presently foresaw, that if I went to the extremity, I should spoil the voyage though I conquered them; so I bridled my passion with all my might, and said calmly, "Very well, gentlemen, let me know what it is you mean by 'One and all;' I offered any of you that did not like to go the voyage might quit the ship. Is it that you intend by 'One and all?' If so, you are welcome, and pray take care to do it immediately. As for what chests and clothes you have in the ship, you shall have them all with you." Upon this I made the chief mate, who was now come to me again, advance a little with some more men, and get between the men upon the forecastle and those who were upon the main deck; and, as if he had wanted room, when he was gotten between them, he said to them, "Stand a little aft, gentlemen," and so crowded them towards me.

As they came nearer and nearer to where I stood, I had opportunity to speak to them singly, which I did calmly and smiling: "Why, how now, Tom," says I to one of them, "what! are you among the mutineers?" "Lord, sir," says Tom, "not I, they are mad, I think, I have nothing to say to them, I care not where I go, not I; I'll go round the globe with you; it's all one to me." "Well, Tom," says I, "but what do you do among them, then? Come away into the steerage, and show yourself an honest man." So Tom comes in, and after him another, and then two more. Upon my saying to Tom, "What do you do among them?" one of the fellows says to one of the officers that stood at a little distance from me, "What does the captain mean by saying 'among them'? What! does he reckon us to be in the plot? He is quite wrong; we are all ignorant, and quite surprised at it." He immediately tells me this, and I was glad, you may be sure, to hear it, and said aloud to the man he spoke to, "If they are honest men, and would not appear in this villainy, let them go down between decks, and get out of the way, that they may have no share in the punishment, if they have none in the crime." "With all my heart," says one. "God bless you, captain," says another. And away they dropped, one by one, in at the steerage-door, and down between decks, every one to his hammock or cabin, till there was not above five or six of them left.

By this time our two boats appeared from the shore, being both manned with Dutchmen, viz., the Dutch captain's mate, and about twenty of his men, all the water-casks full, but not a man of mine with them, for they were left ashore in safe custody.

I waited till they came on board, and then, turning to the men on the forecastle, I told them they should go on board the boats immediately, as soon as the butts of water were hoisted in. They still said, "One and all!" they were ready, and desired they might go and fetch their clothes. "No, no," says I, "not a man of you shall set your foot any more into the ship; but go, get you into the boats, and what is your own shall be given you into the boat."

As I spoke this in an angry tone, and with a kind of passion, that looked provoked to a high degree, they began to see they had no room to choose; and some of them slipped down the scuttle into the cook-room. I had ordered the officer who was there, who was one of the midshipmen, to wink at it, and let as many come down as offered it; and the honest man did more than that, for he went to the scuttle himself, and as if he had whispered, so that I should not hear him, called them one by one by their names, and argued with them: "Prithee, Jack," says he to one of them, "don't you be distracted and ruin yourself to gratify a rash drunken humour; if you go into the boat you are undone, you will be seized as soon as you come ashore, as the rest are, and will be sent to England in irons, and there you will be infallibly hanged. Why, you are certainly all mad." Jack replies he had no design to mutiny, but the second mate drew him in, and he did not know what to do; he wished he had not meddled, but he was undone; now what could he do? "Do," says the midshipman, "leave them, for shame, and slip down here, and I'll see and get you off, if I can." Accordingly he pulled him down, and after him so

many got out of sight the same way, that there was not above seventeen or eighteen left upon the forecastle.

I seemed to take no notice of that, till at last one of the men that was left there, with his hat in his hand, stepping just to the edge of the forecastle, which was next to me, said in a very respectful manner, that I saw how many had slunk away and made their peace, or at least obtained pardon, and that I might perhaps know that they who were left were only such as had their duty there, being placed there of course, before the mutiny began, and that they had no hand in it, but abhorred it with all their hearts, which he hoped I would consider, and not join them with those that had offended, merely because they came upon the forecastle, and mixed there with the men who had the watch.

I told him if that was true it would be in their favour, but I expected he would prove it to my satisfaction before I accepted that for an excuse. He told me it might perhaps be hard to prove it, seeing the boatswain and his mate and the second mate were gone, but the rest of the ship's crew could all testify that they were a part of the men whose watch it was, and that they were upon the forecastle by the necessity of their duty, and no otherwise, and called such and such men who were upon duty with them to witness it, who did confirm it.

Upon this I found myself under a necessity, in justice to the men, to approve it; but my own management was a bite upon myself in it, for though I did allow the midshipman to wink at their slipping away as before, yet I made no question but I should have some left to make examples of; but

as I could not go back from the promise of mercy which I had allowed the midshipman to offer in my name, so I tricked myself by their mistake into a necessity of pardoning them all, which was very far from my design; but there was no remedy.

However, the men, when they were so happily escaped, desired the midshipman, who had been instrumental to deliver them, to assure me that as they were sensible they had deserved very ill at my hands, and that yet I had treated them thus kindly, they would not only reveal to me all the particulars of the conspiracy and the names of those principally concerned in it, but that they would assure me they would never more dispute any of my measures, but were very ready to do their duty as seamen to what part of the world soever I might think fit to go, or which way I thought fit to carry them, whether outward or homeward; and that they gave me the tender of their duty in this manner with the utmost sincerity and with thankfulness for my having forgiven them that conduct, which was the worst that a seaman could be guilty of.

I took this very kindly, and sent them word I did so, and that they should find they had taken the wiser course, that I had an entire confidence in their fidelity, and that they should never find I would reproach them with or use them the worse for what had passed.

I must confess I was very glad of this submission of the men; for though by the measures I had taken I was satisfied I should conquer them, and that I was safe from their attempts, yet carrying it on by resentment, and doing justice upon the offenders, whatever advantage it had one way, had this disadvantage in

the consequence, viz., that it would ruin the voyage, for at least half the men were in the plot.

But having thus conquered them by good usage, I thought my next work was to inquire into the mistakes which had been the foundation of all this; so before I parted with the men who had returned to their duty, I told them that as I had freely forgiven what was past, so I would keep my word with them that I would never reproach them with it; but that I thought it was necessary their judgments should be convinced how much they were imposed upon, as well as their tempers be reduced by my kindness to them. That I was of opinion that they had been abused in the account given them of what I had designed to do, and of the reasons I had to give for doing it; and I would desire them to let me know afterwards whether they had been faithfully informed of things or not; and whether, in their own judgment, now when they were freed from the prepossessions they were under, they could object anything against it or no.

This I did with respect to the other men whom I had made prisoners in the steerage, whom I had the same desire to be kind to as I had to these; but upon whom I resolved to work this way, because, after all, I might have this work to do over again, if I should meet with any disappointment or miscarriage in the voyage; or especially if we should be put to any straits or distress in the pursuing of it.

In order to this, I caused the voyage itself, and the reasons of it, the nature of the trade I was to carry on by it, the pursuit of it to the South Seas, — in a word, everything just as we had argued and settled it in the great cabin, to be put in writing and read to them.

The fellows, every one of them, declared they were

fully satisfied in the voyage itself, and that my reasons for it were perfectly good; and that they had received a quite different account of it, as that I would carry them into the island of the Moluccas, which was the most unhealthy part of the East Indies; that I would go away to the south for new discoveries; and that I would go away thence to the South Seas; which was a voyage of such a length that no ship could victual for; that it was impossible to carry fresh water such a length; and, in a word, that it was a voyage that would destroy us all.

It was the chief mate and the midshipman who took them all down the scuttle that brought me this account from them; so I made him take two of those penitent mutineers with him, and go to the men in the steerage, whom he had made prisoners at first, and see whether their delusions were of the same kind, and what kind of temper they were in. Accordingly, he went to them directly, for this was not a business that admitted giving them time to club and cabal together, and form other societies or combinations which might have consequences fatal to us still.

When he came to them he told them the captain was willing to do all the justice possible to his men, and to use them on all occasions with equity and kindness. I ordered him to inquire calmly what it was had moved them to these disorders, and what it was which they had been made to believe was doing, that they could enter into measures so destructive to themselves, and to those who had entrusted them all with the ship and cargo; for that in a voyage every foremast-man, in his degree, is trusted with the safety of the whole ship.

They answered it was the mate; that they had never shown themselves discontented, much less disorderly in the ship; that they had on all occasions done their duty through the whole voyage till now, and that they had no ill design upon any one, much less had they any design to destroy the voyage, or injure the captain; but that they were all told by the second mate that the captain had imposed upon them, that he had proposed a mad voyage to the South Pole, that would murder them all, and that they were to lay aside the trading and cruising voyages which they came out upon, and were now to spend the whole voyage in new discoveries, by which the men could propose nothing to themselves but hardships, and perhaps perishing with hunger and cold; whereas, had they gone to the South Sea as was intended, they might all have been made, and that the hazards, with that prospect, had some sense in them; whereas in this project there was nothing but certain destruction.

The mate delivered them a copy of the scheme I had proposed, the reasons of it, the trade I had designed, the return I was to make, and everything as I have already mentioned it, and bid them take it and consider of it.

As I was justly provoked to see how I had been abused and misrepresented to the men, so they were astonished when they read my scheme, and saw what mischiefs they had been led into for they knew not what, and without any reason or just consideration. And after they had debated things awhile among themselves, they desired the chief mate might come to them again, which he did. Then they told him that as they had been thus grossly abused and drawn

into mischiefs which they never designed, by such plausible pretences, and by being told such a long story full of lies, and to carry on a hellish project of the second mate's, they hoped, then, being so much imposed upon would a little extenuate their fault; that they were convinced that the captain had proposed nothing but what was very rational, and a voyage that might be very profitable to the owners and to themselves, and that they entirely threw themselves upon the captain's mercy, and humbly begged pardon; that if I pleased to forgive them, they would endeavour to merit such forgiveness by their future behaviour; and that in the meantime they submitted to what punishment I pleased to lay upon them; and particularly, that as they had forfeited, by their conspiracy, all the claim they had upon the ship, and might justly have been turned ashore at the first land they came to, they were willing to sign a discharge for all their wages due to them, which was now near eight months a man, and to be considered for the rest of the voyage as they deserved; that they would all take a solemn oath of fidelity to me to do their duty, to go wherever I would carry them, and to behave with the greatest submission and diligence, in hopes to regain my favour by their future behaviour, and to show their gratitude for the pardon I should grant them.

This was, indeed, just as I would have it, for I wanted nothing more than to have something offered, which I might give them back again; for I ever thought, and have found it by experience to be the best way, that men were always secured in their duty by a generous kindness, better than by the absolute dominion and severity; indeed, my opinion was justi-

fied in all the measures I took with these men; for as I found they were sufficiently humbled, and that I had brought them low enough, I let them know that it was not their punishment but their amendment I desired; that I scorned to make a prey of them, and take that forfeiture they had offered, to putting the wages due to them for their labour in my pocket. But I sent them word I was very glad to hear that they were sensible how much they had been imposed upon; that as it was not my design to offer anything to them which they or any honest men ought to refuse, so it was not my desire to make any advantages of their follies, but what might tend to bring them back to their duty; that as I had no prospect that was inconsistent with their safety and interest, so I scorned to make a profit of their submission; that as to their wages, though they had forfeited it by their mutiny, yet God forbid I should make it my profit; and, since forgiving their offence was in my power, the crime being in one particular an offence against me, they should never be able to say I made a gain of their submission, and like the Pope should sell them my pardon; that upon their solemn engaging to me never to offer the least disturbance of any kind in the ship for the future, but to do their duty faithfully and cheerfully, I would forget all that was past, only this excepted, viz., that two of them who were particularly guilty of threatening the life of Captain Mirlotte, should be punished as they deserved.

They could not deny but this was most just, and they did not so much as offer to intercede for those two; but when one of the two moved the rest, they answered they could not do it, for they had received

favour enough for themselves, and they could not desire anything of the captain for their sakes, for they had all deserved punishment as well as they.

In a word, the two men were brought to the geers, and soundly whipped and pickled; and they all proved very honest ever after. And these, as I said at first, were two-and-thirty in all.

All this while Captain Mirlotte, with his Frenchmen, were in arms, and had possession of the quarter-deck, to the number of twenty-three stout men; I had possession of the main-deck, with eighteen men and the sixteen Dutchmen, and my chief mate, with the midshipmen, had possession of the cook-room and the quarter-deck; the Dutch captain, our supercargo, the surgeon, and the other captain, kept the great cabin, with a guard of twelve musketeers without the door, and about eight more within, besides servants. Captain Mirlotte's men also had a guard of eight men in the round-house. I had now nothing to do but with my men who were on shore; and of these six of them were indifferent, being men not embarked in the design, but carried on shore by the chief mate, with a design to engage them with him; so that, indeed, they fell into a punishment before they fell into the crime, and what to do with these men was the case.

The first thing I did was to dismiss my visitor, the Dutch captain, whom I had a great deal of reason to think myself exceedingly obliged to; and first, I handsomely rewarded his men, to whom I gave four pieces of eight a man; and having waited on the captain to the ship's side, and seen him into his boat, I fired him twenty-one guns at his going off, for which he fired twenty-five when he came on board

his ship. The same afternoon I sent my pinnace on board for my drunken coxswain, and with the pinnace I sent the captain three dozen bottles of English beer, and a quarter-cask of Canary, which was the best present I had to make him, and sent every one of his other seamen a piece of eight per man; and indeed the assistance I had from the ship deserved it; and to the mate, who acted so bravely with my men on shore, I sent fifty pieces of eight.

The next day I went on shore to pay my respects to the governor, when I had all the prisoners delivered up to me; the six men I caused to be immediately set at liberty, as having been innocent, and brought all the rest on board, tied hand and foot, as prisoners, and continued them so a great while afterward, as you shall hear. As for the second mate, I tried him formally by a council of war, as I was empowered by my commission to do, and sentenced him to be hanged at the yard-arm; and though I suspended the execution from day to day, yet I kept him in expectation of the halter every hour, which to some would have been as grievous as the hanging itself.

Thus we conquered this desperate mutiny, all principally proceeding from suffering the private disputes among ourselves, which ought to have been the arcana of the whole voyage, and kept as secret as death itself could have kept it, I mean so as not to come among the seamen afore the mast.

We lay here twelve days, during which time we took in fresh water, as much as we had casks for, and were able to stow. On the 13th day of August we weighed and stood away to the east, designing to make no land any more till we came to Java Head,

and the Straits of Sunda, for that way we intended to sail; but the wind sprung up at E. and E.S.E., and blew so fresh that we were obliged, after two days' beating against it, to bear away afore it, and run back to the Cape of Good Hope.

While we were here, there came in two Dutch East Indiamen more, homeward bound, to whom had happened a very odd accident, as follows: — They had been attacked by a large ship of forty-four guns, and a stout sloop of eight guns; the Dutch ships, resolving to assist one another, stood up to the Frenchman, for such it seems he was, and fought him very warmly. The engagement lasted six or seven hours, in which the privateer had killed them some men; but in the heat of the fight, the sloop received a shot which brought her main-mast by the board, and this caused the captain of the frigate to sheer off, fearing his sloop would be taken; but the sloop's men took care of themselves, for hauling a little out of the fight, they got into their own boats, and a boat which the frigate sent to their help, and abandoned the sloop, which the Dutchmen perceiving, they manned out their boats, and sent and took the sloop, with all that was in her, and brought her away with them.

The Dutchmen came into the road at the Cape with this prize while our ship was there the second time, and we saw them bringing the sloop in a tow, having no mast standing but a little pole-mast set up for the present, and her mizzen, which was also disabled and of little use to her.

I no sooner saw her but it came into my thoughts that if she was anything of a sea-boat, she would do our business to a tittle; and as we had always re-

solved to get another ship, but had been disappointed, this would answer our end exactly. Accordingly, I went with my chief mate in our shallop on board my old acquaintance the Dutch captain, and inquiring there, was informed of the case, that it was a prize, taken as above, and that in all probability the captain that took her would be glad to part with her, and the captain promised me to go on board the ship that brought her in, and inquire about it, and let me know.

Accordingly the next morning the captain sent me word I might have her; that she carried eight guns, had good store of provisions on board, with ammunition sufficient, and I might have her and all that was in her for 1200 pieces of eight. In a word, I sent my chief mate back with the same messenger and the money, giving him commission to pay the money and take possession of her, if he liked her, which he did; and the Dutch captain, my friend, lent him twelve men to bring her off to us, which they did the same day.

I was a little put to it for a mast for her, not having anything on board that we could spare that was fit for a main-mast; but resolving at last to mast her, not as a sloop but as a brigantine, we made shift with what spare pieces we had, and a spare foretop-mast, which one of the Dutch ships helped me to; so we fitted her up very handsomely, made her carry twelve guns, and put sixty men on board. One of the best things we found on board her was casks, which we greatly wanted, especially for barrelling up beef and other provisions, which we found very difficult; but our cooper eked them out with making some new ones out of her old ones.

After staying here sixteen days more, we sailed again, indeed. I thought once we should never have gone away at all; for it is certain above half the men in the ship were made uneasy, and there remained still some misunderstanding of my design, and a supposition of all the frightful things the second mate had put into their heads; and by his means the boatswain and gunner. As these three had the principal management of the conspiracy, and that I had pardoned all the rest, I had some thoughts of making an example of these. I took care to let them know it too in a manner that they had no room to think it was in jest, but that I intended to have them all three hanged; I kept them above three weeks in suspense about it. However, as I had no intention to put them to death, I thought it was a piece of cruelty, something worse than death, to keep them continually in expectation of it, and in a place too where they had but little more than room to breathe. So having been seventeen days gone from the Cape, I resolved to relieve them a little, and yet at the same time remove them out of the way of doing me any capital injury, if they should have any such design still in their heads. For this purpose, I caused them to be removed out of the ship into the brigantine, and there I permitted them to have a little more liberty than they had on board the great ship, and where two of them entered into another devilish conspiracy, as wild and foolish as ever I heard of, or as perhaps was ever heard of, of which I shall say more in its place.

We were now to sail in company, and we went away from the Cape the 3rd of September, anno 1714. We found the brigantine an excellent sea-

boat, and could bear the weather to a miracle, and no bad sailer; she kept pace with us on all occasions, and in a storm we had at S.S.E. some days after, she shifted as well as we did in the great ship, which made us all in love with her.

This storm drove us away to the northward, and I once thought we should have been driven back to the Cape again; which if it had happened, I believe we should never have gone on with the voyage; for the men began to murmur again, and say we were bewitched, that we were beaten off first from the south of America, that we could never get round there, and now driven back from the south of Africa; so that it looked as if fate had determined this voyage to be pursued no further. The wind continued, and blew exceeding hard; and, in short, we were driven so far to the north, that we made the south point of the island of Madagascar.

My pilot knew it to be Madagascar as soon as he had a clear view of the land, and having beaten so long against the sea to no purpose, and being in want of many things, we resolved to put in; and accordingly made for Port St. Augustine, on the west side of the island, where we came to an anchor in eleven fathom water, and a very good road.

I could not be without a great many anxious thoughts upon our coming into this island, for I knew very well that there were a gang of desperate rogues here, especially on the northern coast, who had been famous for their piracies, and I did not know but that they might be either strong enough as pirates to take us, or rogues enough to entice a great many of my men to run away; so I resolved neither to come near enough the shore to be sur-

prised, nor to suffer any of my men to go on shore, such excepted as I could be very secure of.

But I was soon informed by a Dutchman, who came off to me with some natives in a kind of a canvas boat, that there were no Europeans there but himself, and that the pirates were on the north part of the island; that they had no ship with them of any force, and that they would be glad to be fetched off by any Christian ship; that they were not above two hundred in number, their chief leaders, with the only ships of force they had, being out a-cruising on the coast of Arabia and the Gulf of Persia.

After this, I went on shore myself with Captain Mirlotte, and some of the men whom I could trust, and we found it true, as the Dutchman had related. The Dutchman gave us a long history of his adventures, and how he came to be left there by a ship he came in from Europe, which, he running up into the country for sport, with three more of his comrades, went away without them, and left them among the natives, who, however, used them very well, and that now he served them for an interpreter and a broker, to bargain for them with the European ships for provisions. Accordingly, he engaged to bring us what provisions we pleased, and proposed such trinkets in return as he knew the natives desired, and as were of value little enough to us, but he desired a consideration for himself in money, which, though it was of no use to him there, he said it might be hereafter; and as his demand was but twenty pieces of eight, we thought he very well deserved it.

Here we bought a great quantity of beef, which, having no casks to spare, we salted, and then cured it in the sun, by the Dutchman's direction, and it

proved of excellent use to us through the whole voyage, for we kept some of it till we came to England, but it was then so hard that a good hatchet would hardly cut it.

While we lay here, it came into my thoughts that now was a good time to execute justice upon my prisoners; so I called a council of war, and proposed it to them in general terms, not letting them know my mind as to the manner of it. They all agreed that it was necessary, and the second mate, boatswain, and gunner, had so much intelligence of it from the men, that they prepared for death as much as if I had signed a death-warrant for their execution, and that they were to be hanged at the yard-arm. But in the middle of those resolves I told the council of officers that my design was to the north part of the island, where a gang of pirates were said to be settled, and that I was persuaded I might get a good ship among them, and as many men as we desired, for that I was satisfied the greatest part of them were so wearied of their present government, that they would be glad of an opportunity to come away, and especially such as had by force, or rash hasty resolutions, been, as it were, surprised into that sort of life; that I had been informed they were very far from being in such a formidable posture as they had been represented to us in Europe, or anything near so numerous, but that, on the contrary, we should find them poor, divided, in distress, and willing to get away upon any terms they could.

Some of the officers of the ship differed from me in my opinion; they had received such ideas of the figure those people made at Madagascar, from the common report in England, that they had no notion

of them but as of a little commonwealth of robbers; that they were immensely rich; that Captain Avery was king of the island; that they were near eight thousand men; that they had a good squadron of stout ships; and that they were able to resist a whole fleet of men-of-war, having a harbour so well fortified at the entrance into it that there was no coming at them without a good army for land service, and the like.

I convinced them how impossible this was to be true, and told them all the discourse I had had with the Dutchman at the place where I now was, who had had a full account of it from several of them who had come down to St. Augustine's in little boats, in order to make their escape from them, and to get passage for Europe, whom he had always assisted, and got them off as any ship touched at that port, and who all agreed in their relation of their particulars, which were indeed miserable enough, saving that they wanted neither victuals or clothes.

In a word, I soon brought them to enter into the reason of it, and to be of my opinion; and accordingly I ordered to get ready, and in three days' time weighed, and stood away for the north of the island; for, by the way, we did not now communicate our debates or resolves to the men before the mast, as had been done before, — we had indeed had enough of that already.

While we were thus coasting the island to the north, and in the channel or sea between the island and the main of Africa, it came into my thoughts that I might now make use of my traitors to my advantage and their own too, and that I might, if they were honest, gain my end, and get full intelli-

gence of the people I had my eye upon, and if they were still traitors, they would desert and go over to the pirates, and I should be well rid of them, without the necessity of bringing them to the yard-arm; for I was very uneasy in my mind about hanging them too, nor could I ever have been brought to do it, I believe, whatever risk I had run from their mutinous disposition.

I was now got into the latitude of fifteen degrees and a half south of the line, and began to think of standing in for the shore, when I ordered the second mate, who lay in irons in the brigantine, to be brought on board the ship, and to be called up into the great cabin. He came in great concern; though he was of himself a very bold and resolute fellow, yet as he made no doubt that he was sent for to execution, he appeared thoroughly softened, and quite another man than he was before.

When he was brought in, I caused him to be set down in a nook of the cabin, where he could not stir to offer any violence to me, if he had had any will to it, two large chests being just before him; and I ordered all my people to withdraw, except Captain Mirlotte and the supercargo, and then, turning myself to the criminal, I told him he knew his circumstances, I need not repeat them, and the fact for which he was brought into that condition; that I had hitherto from time to time delayed his execution, contrary to the opinion of the rest of the chief officers, who in full council had unanimously condemned him; that I had a sudden thought came into my head, which, if he knew how to merit mercy, and to retrieve his circumstances by his future fidelity, might once again put it into his power not only to save his

THE SECOND MATE IS SUMMONED BEFORE THE CAPTAIN

When he was brought to, I caused him to be set down in the cock of the cutter

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life, but to be trusted in the ship again, if he inclined to be honest; that, however, if he had no inclination to merit by his service, I would put it to his choice, either to undertake with courage and fidelity what I had to propose to him, in which case he might expect to be very well treated, or if not, I would pardon him as to the death he had reason to expect, and he, with his two fellow-criminals, should be set on shore, to go whither they pleased.

He waited, without offering to speak a word, till I made a full stop, and then asked me if I gave him leave to answer. I told him yes; then he asked me if I gave him leave to speak freely, and would not take offence at what he might say. I told him he should speak as freely as if he had never offended, and that as I had given him his life, I would now give him my word nothing he could say should revoke the grant; and that he should not only go freely on shore, for I expected by his words that he had made that choice, but that I would give him the lives of his two fellow-prisoners, and would give them arms and ammunition, and anything else that was reasonable for them to ask, or necessary to their subsisting on shore in such a country. He told me then that, had it been any other part of the world than at Madagascar, he would readily have chosen to have gone on shore; nay, though the place had been really desolate and uninhabited; that he did not object because my offer was not very generous and kind, and it would be always with regret that he should look back upon the mercy he should have received, and how ill he had deserved it at my hands; but that as it was at this place that I mentioned setting him at liberty, he told me that though he had been

mutinous and disorderly, for which he acknowledged he had deserved to die, yet he hoped I could not think so ill of him as to believe he could turn pirate, and begged that, rather than entertain such hard thoughts of him, I would execute the worst part of the sentence, and send him out of the world a penitent, and an honest man; which he should esteem far better than to give him his life in a condition in which he could preserve it upon no other terms than those of being the worst of villains. He added that if there was anything he could do to deserve so much mercy as I intended him, he begged me that I would give him room to behave himself as became him, and he would leave it wholly to me to use him as he should deserve, even to the recalling the pardon that I had granted him.

I was extremely satisfied with what he said, and more particularly with the manner of his speaking it. I told him I was glad to see that he had a principle of so much honesty at the bottom of a part so unhappy as he had acted; that I would be very far from prompting him to turn pirate, and much more from forcing him to do so; and that I would, according to his desire, put an opportunity into his hands to show himself a new man, and by his fidelity to wipe out all that was past; and then without any more ceremony I told him my whole design, which was to send him, and four or five more men with him, on shore among the pirates as spies, to see what condition they were in, and to see whether there was any apprehensions of violence from them, or whether they were in the mean circumstances that I had reason to believe they were in: and, lastly, whether they had any ship or vessel that might be bought of them, and

whether men might be had to increase our company; that is to say, such men as being penitent for their rogueries, and tired with their miseries, would be glad of the opportunity of turning honest men before they were brought to it by distress and the gallows.

He embraced the opportunity with the greatest readiness, and gave me all the assurances that I could desire of his fidelity. I then asked him whether he thought his two fellow-prisoners might be trusted upon the same foot. He asked me if I would take it for a piece of sincerity if, after a trial, he should tell me his mind, and would not be displeased if he declined speaking his thoughts till he had talked with them. I told him he should be at liberty to give his further answer after he had proposed it to them; but I insisted upon his opinion first, because it was only his opinion that I asked now; whereas, if he reported it to them, then he had no more to do but to report their answer. He then asked me if I would please to grant him one thing, namely, that whatever his opinion should be, that what he should say should be no prejudice to them in their present condition. I told him it was a reasonable caution in him, and I would assure him that whatever he said should not do them any prejudice, and to convince him of it, I gave him my word that I would not put them to death on any account whatsoever, merely for his sake. He bowed, and thanked me very heartily for that grant, which he said obliged him to be the plainer with me on that head, and as, he said, he would not deceive me in anything whatever, so he would not in this especially; and therefore told me it was his opinion they would not serve me faithfully:

and he referred me to the experience I should find of it; and added that he would be so just to me in the beginning, as that while he begged me to be merciful to them, yet for my own sake he would also beg me not to trust them.

I took the hint, and said no more at that time, but ordered his irons to be taken off, and ordered him to have leave to go to his former cabin, and to have his chest and things restored to him; so that he was at full liberty in the ship, though not in any office, or appointed to any particular business. A day or two after this we made land, which appeared to be the north-west part of the island, in the latitude of thirteen degrees thirty minutes; and now I thought it was time to put our design in execution, for I knew very well that it could not be a great way from this part of the island where the pirates were to be heard of: so I ordered the boat on shore, with about sixteen men, to make discoveries, and with them my new restored man. I gave him no instruction for anything extraordinary at this time, our work being now only to find out where they were. The boat came on board again at night, for we had now stood in within two leagues of the shore, and brought us an account that there were no English or Europeans at all thereabouts, but they were to be heard of a great way further. So we stood away to the north all the night and the next day, the wind being fair and the sea smooth, and by our reckoning we went in that time about forty leagues.

The next evening the same company went on shore again, and were showed by some of the natives where the pirates inhabited; which, in short, was about five- or six-and-twenty miles further north

still, in a river very commodious for shipping, where they had five or six European-built ships, and two or three sloops, but they were all laid up, except two sloops, with which they cruised sometimes a great distance off to the north, as far as the Arabian Gulf. He returned with this intelligence the same night, and by his direction we stood in as close under the shore as we could conveniently, about six leagues further north; here we found a very good road under a little cape, which kept us perfectly undiscovered; and in the morning before day my man went on shore again with the boat, and keeping only four men with him, sent the boat on board again, agreeing on a signal for us to send the boat for him again when he should return.

There was a pretty high ledge of hills to the north of the place where he landed, and which running west, made the little cape under the lee of which our ship rode at an anchor as above. As soon as he came to the top of those hills he plainly discovered the creek or harbour where the ships lay, and where they had formed their encampment on the shore. Our men took such proper observations of the situation of the place they were in upon the hill, that they might not fail to find their way back again, though it were in the night; and having agreed in the account they should give of themselves, so that they might be all found in the same tale, they boldly went down the hill, and came to the edge of the creek, the pirates' camp being on the other shore.

Here they fired a gun to raise a kind of alarm among them, and then hanging out a white cloth on the top of a pole, a signal of peace, they hailed them

in English, and asked them if they would send a boat and fetch them over.

The pirates were surprised at the noise of the piece, and came running to the shore with all speed; but they were much surprised when they heard themselves hailed in English. Upon the whole they immediately sent a boat to fetch them over, and received them with a great deal of joy.

Our men pretended to be overjoyed at finding them there, told them a long story that they came on shore on the west side of the island, where not far off there were two English ships, but that the natives quarrelling with their men upon some rudeness offered to their women, and they being separated from their fellows, were obliged to fly; that the natives had surrounded the rest, and they believed had killed them all; that they wandered up to the top of the hill, intending to make signals to their ship, to send them some help, when seeing some ships they believed some Europeans were there, and so came down to take shelter; and they begged of them a boat to carry them round the cape to their comrades, unless they would give them leave to stay with them, and do as they did, which they were very willing to do.

This was all a made story; but, however, the tale told so well, that they believed it thoroughly, and received our men very kindly, led them up to their camp, and gave them some victuals.

Our men observed they had victuals enough, and very good, as well beef as mutton; that is to say, of goats' flesh, which was excellent good; also pork and veal, and they were tolerable good cooks too, for they found they had built several furnaces and

boilers, which they had taken out of their ships, and dressed a vast quantity of meat at a time; but they observed they had no liquor, upon which the mate pulled a large bottle of good cordial waters out of his pocket, and gave it about as far as it would go, and so did two others of the men, which their new landlords took very kindly.

They spent good part of the first day in looking about them, seeing the manner of the pirates living there, and their strength; and soon perceived that they were indeed but in a sorry condition every way, except that they had cattle and flesh meat sufficient. They had a good platform of guns indeed, and a covered place palisadoed round where they lodged their ammunition. But as for fortifications to the landward they had none, except a double palisado round their camp, and a sort of a bank thrown up within to fire from, and stand covered from the enemies' lances, which was all they had to fear from the natives.

They had no bread but what they made of rice, and the store they had of that was very small. They told our men indeed that they had two ships abroad, which they expected back every day with a quantity of rice, and what else they could get, especially with some arrack, which they were to trade for with the Arabian merchants, or take it by force, which should first offer.

Our men pretended to like their way of living mighty well, and talked of staying with them, if they would let them, and thus they passed the first day of conversation.

Our men had two tents or huts given them to lodge in, and hammocks hung in the huts very agree-

ably, being such, I suppose, as belonged to some of their company that were dead, or were out upon adventures. Here they slept very secure, and in the morning walked about, as strangers might be suffered to do to look about them; but my new manager's eye was chiefly here upon two things, first, to see if they had any shipping for our purpose, and, secondly, to see if he could pitch upon one man more particular than the rest, to enter into some confidence with, and it was not long before he found an opportunity for both. The manner was thus:—

He was walking by himself, having ordered his other men to straggle away two and two, this way and that, as if they had not minded him, though always to keep him in sight; I say, he walked by himself towards that part of the creek where, as was said, three of their biggest ships lay by the walls, and when he came to the shore right against them, he stood still looking at them very earnestly; while he was here he observed a boat put off from one of them, with four oars and one sitter only, whom they set on shore just by him, and then put off again; the person whom they set on shore was, it seems, one who had been with our men the evening before, but having some particular office on board one of those ships, lay on board every night, with about ten or twelve men, just to watch and guard the ship, and so came on shore in the morning, as is usual in men-of-war laid up.

As soon as he saw our man he knew him, and spoke very familiarly to him, and seeing he was looking so earnestly at the ship, he asked him if he would go on board. Our man faintly declined it, as on purpose to be asked again, and upon just as much

farther pressing as was sufficient to satisfy him that the gunner, for that was his office, was in earnest, he yielded, so the gunner called back the boat, and they went on board.

Our man viewed the ship very particularly, and pretended to like everything he saw; but, after some conversation, asks him this home question, namely, why they did not go to sea and seek purchase, having so many good ships at their command? He shook his head, and told him very frankly that they were in no condition to undertake anything, for that they were a crew of unresolved divided rogues; that they were never two days of a mind; that they had nobody to command, and therefore nobody to obey; that several things had been offered, but nothing concluded; that, in short, they thought of nothing but of shifting every one for themselves as well as they could.

My mate replied he thought it had been quite otherwise, and that made him tell them last night that he had an inclination to stay with them. "I heard you say so," said the gunner, "and it made me smile; I thought in myself that you would be of another mind when you knew us a little better; for, in a word," said he, "if they should agree to lend you a boat to go back to your ship, they would go together by the ears about who should go with you; for not a man of them that went with you would ever come back again hither, if your captain would take them on board, though the terms were to be hanged when they came to England."

My mate knew that this was my opinion before, but he was really of another mind himself, till he saw things, and till he talked with this gunner; and this

put new things in his head. So he entertained the gunner with a scheme of his own, and told him, if things were so as he related it, and that he had really a mind to come off from that gang, he believed that he could put him in a way how to do it to his advantage, and to take a set of his people with him, if he could pick out some of them that might be depended upon.

The gunner replied that he could pick out a set of very brave fellows, good seamen, and most of them such as having been forced into the pirates' ships, were dragged into that wicked life they had lived, not only against their consciences, but by a mere necessity to save their lives, and that they would be glad at any price to come off. The mate asked him how many such he could answer for. He told him above a hundred. Upon this the mate told him the circumstances we were in, the voyage we were upon, that we were a letter of marque ship of such force, but that we were over-manned and double-stored, in hopes of getting a good ship upon our cruise to man out of the other; that we had been disappointed, and had only got the sloop or brigantine which we bought, as before, at the Cape; that if he could persuade the men to sell us one of their ships, we would pay them for it in ready money, and perhaps entertain a hundred of their men into the bargain.

The gunner told him he would propose it to them, and added, in positive terms, that he knew it would be readily accepted, and that he should take which of the three ships I pleased. The mate then desired that he would lend them his shallop to go on board our ship, to acquaint me with it, and bring back sufficient orders to treat. He told him he would

not only do that, but before I could be ready to go he would propose it to the chief men he had his eye upon, and would have their consent, and that then he would go along with him on board to make a bargain.

This was as well as our mate could expect, and the gunner had either so much authority among them, or the men were so forward to shift their station in the world, that the gunner came again to our mate in less than two hours with an order, signed by about sixteen of their officers, empowering him to sell us the ship which the gunner was on board of, and to allot so many guns and such a proportion of ammunition to her as was sufficient, and to give the work of all their carpenters for so many days as were necessary to repair her, calk and grave her, and put her in condition to go to sea.

She was a Spanish-built ship; where they had her, the gunner said he did not know; but she was a very strong, tight ship, and a pretty good sailer. We made her carry two-and-thirty guns, though she had not been used to carry above twenty-four.

The gunner being thus empowered to treat with my mate, came away in their shallop, and brought the said gunner and two more of their officers with him, and eight seamen. The gunner and I soon made a bargain for the ship, which I bought for five thousand pieces of eight, most of it in English goods, such as they wanted; for they were many of them almost naked of clothes, and as for other things they had scarce a pair of shoes or stockings among them. When our bargain was made, and the mate had related all the particulars of the conference he had had with the gunner, we came to talk of the people who were to go with us. The

gunner told us that we might indeed have good reason to suspect a gang of men who had made themselves infamous all over the world by so many piracies and wicked actions; but if I would put so much confidence in him, he would assure me that as he should have the power in his hands to pick and choose his men, so he would answer body for body the fidelity of all the men he should choose; and that most, if not all of them, would be such as had been taken by force out of other ships, or wheedled away when they were drunk; and, in a word, he told me that there never was a ship-load of such penitents went to sea together as he would bring us. When he had said so, he began to move me that I would please to give him the same post which he held in the ship, viz., that of gunner, which I promised him; and then he desired I would permit him to speak with me in private, and I was not at first very free to it, but he having consented to let the mate and Captain Mirlotte be present, I yielded.

When all the rest were withdrawn he told me that having been five years in the pirates' service, as he might call it, and being obliged to do as they did, I might be sure he had some small share in the purchase, and however he had come into it against his will, yet as he had been obliged to go with them, he had made some advantage, and that being resolved to leave them, he had a good while ago packed up some of the best of what he had got, to make his escape, and begged I would let him deposit it with me as a security for his fidelity. Upon this he ordered a chest to be taken out of the shallop, and brought into my great cabin, and besides this gave

me out of his pocket a bag sealed up, the contents of which I shall speak of hereafter.

The shallop returned the next day, and I sent back the mate with my long-boat and twenty-four men to go and take possession of the ship, and appointed my carpenter to go and see to the repairs that were necessary to be done to her; and some days after I sent Captain Mirlotte with the supercargo in our sloop, to go and secure the possession, and to cover the retreat of any of the men that might have a mind to come away and might be opposed by the rest; and this was done at the request of the gunner, who foresaw there might be some squabble about it.

They spent six weeks and some odd days in fitting out this ship, occasioned by the want of a convenient place to lay her on shore in, which they were obliged to make with a great deal of labour; however, she was completely fitted up. When she was fitted they laid in a good store of provisions, though not so well cured as to last a great while. One of the best things we got a recruit of here was casks, which, as before, we greatly wanted, and which their coopers assisted us to trim, season, and fit up.

As to bread, we had no help from them, for they not only had none but what they made of rice, but they had no sufficient store of that, as I have hinted before.

But we had more to do yet; for when the ship was fitted up and our men had the possession of her, they were surprised one morning on a sudden with a most horrible tumult among the pirates, and had not our brigantine been at hand, as above, to secure the possession, I believe they had taken the ship from our men again, and perhaps have come down

with her and their two sloops and have attacked us. The case was this: — The gunner, who was a punctual fellow to his word, resolved that none of the men should go in the ship but such as he had singled out, and they were such as were generally men taken out of merchant ships by force, as before; but when he came to talk to the men of who and who should go and stay, truly they would all go to a man, there was not a man of them would stay behind; and, in a word, they fell out about it to that degree, that they came to blows, and the gunner was forced to fly for it, with about twenty-two men that stood to him, and six or seven were wounded in the fray, whereof two died.

The gunner thus being driven to his shifts, made down to the shore to his boat, but the rogues were too nimble for him, and had got to his boat before him, and prepared to man her and two more, to go on board and secure the ship. In this distress the gunner, who had taken sanctuary in the woods at about a mile distance, but unhappily above the camp, so that the platform of guns was between him and the ship, had no remedy but to send one of his men, who swam very well, to take a compass round behind the pirates' camp, and come to the water-side below the camp and platform, so to take the water and swim on board the ship, which lay nearly a league below their said camp, and give our men notice of what had happened, to warn them to suffer none of their men to come on board, unless the gunner was with them; and, if possible, to send a boat on shore to fetch off the gunner and his men, who were following by the same way, and would be at the same place, and make a signal to them to come for him.

Our men had scarce received this notice when they saw a boat full of men put off from the platform, and row down under shore towards them; but as they resolved not to suffer them to come on board, they called to them by a speaking-trumpet, and told them they might go back again, for they should not come on board, nor any other boat, unless the gunner was on board.

They rowed on for all that, when our men called to them again, and told them if they offered to put off, in order to come on board, or, in short, to row down shore any further than a little point which our men named, and which was just ahead of them, they would fire at them. Well, they rowed on for all this, and that though they were past the point, which our men seeing, they immediately let fly a shot, but fired a little ahead of them, so as not to hit the boat, and this brought them to a stop; so they lay upon their oars awhile, as if they were considering what to do; when our men perceived two boats more come off from the platform likewise, full of men, and rowing after the first. Upon this they called again the first boat with their speaking-trumpet, and told them if they did not go immediately on shore they would sink the boat. They had no remedy, seeing our men resolved, and that they lay open to the shot of the ship, so they went on shore accordingly, and then our men fired at the empty boat till they split her in pieces, and made her useless to them.

Upon this firing, our brigantine, which lay about two leagues off in the mouth of a little creek on the south of that river, weighed immediately, and stood away to the opening of the road where the ship lay,

and the tide of flood being still running in, they drove up towards the ship for her assistance, and came to an anchor about a cable's length ahead of her, but within pistol-shot of the shore, at the same time sending two-and-thirty of her men on board the great ship, to reinforce the men on board, who were but sixteen in number.

Just at this time the gunner and his twenty-one men, who heard the firing, and had quickened their pace, though they had a great compass to fetch, through woods and untrod paths, and some luggage to carry too, were come to the shore, and made the signal, which our men in the ship observing, gave notice to the officer of the brigantine to fetch them on board, which he did very safely. By the way, as the officer afterwards told us, most of their luggage consisted of money, with which it seems every man of them was very well furnished, having shared their wealth at their first coming on shore. As for clothes, they had very few, and those all in rags; and as for linen, they had scarce a shirt among them all, or linen enough to have made a white flag for a truce, if they had had occasion for it. In short, a crew so rich and so ragged were hardly ever seen before.

The ship was now pretty well manned, for the brigantine carried the gunner and his twenty-one men on board her; and the tide by this time being spent, she immediately unmoored and loosened her topsails, which, as it happened, had been bent to the yards two days before; so, with the first of the ebb, she weighed, and fell down about a league further, by which she was quite out of reach of the platform, and rode in the open sea; and the brigantine did the same.

But by this means they missed the occasion of the rest of the gunner's men, who, having got together to the number of between seventy and eighty, had followed him and come down to the shore and made the signals, but were not understood by our ship, which put the poor men to great difficulties; for they had broken away from the rest by force, and had been pursued half a mile by the whole body, and particularly at the entrance into a very thick, woody place, were so hard put to it that they were obliged to make a desperate stand and fire at their old friends, which had exasperated them to the last degree. But as the case of these men was desperate, they took an effectual method for their own security, of which I shall give a further account presently.

The general body of the pirates were now up in arms, and the new ship was, as it were, in open war with them, or at least they had declared war against it; but as they had been disappointed in their attempt to force it, and found they were not strong enough at sea to attack it, they sent a flag of truce on board. Our men admitted them to come to the ship side, but as my mate, who now had the command, knew them to be a gang of desperate rogues that would attempt anything, though never so rash, he ordered that none of them should come on board the ship, except the officer and two more, who gave an account that they were sent to treat with us. So we called them the ambassadors.

When they came on board they expostulated very warmly with my new agent, the second mate, that our men came in the posture of friends, and of friends too in distress, and had received favours from them,

but had abused the kindness which had been shown them; that they had bought a ship of them, and had had leave and assistance to fit her up and furnish her, but had not paid for her, or paid for what assistance and what provisions had been given to them; and that now, to complete all, their men had been partially and unfairly treated; and when a number of men had been granted us, an inferior fellow, a gunner, was set to call such and such men out, just whom he pleased, to go with us, whereas the whole body ought to have had the appointing whom they would or would not give leave to go in the ship; that when they came in a peaceable manner to have demanded justice, and to have treated amicably of these things, our men had denied them admittance, had committed hostilities against them, had fired at their men and staved their boat, and had afterwards received on board their deserters, all contrary to the rules of friendship; and in all these cases they demanded satisfaction.

Our new commander was a ready man enough, and he answered all their complaints with a great deal of gravity and calmness. He told them that it was true we came to them as friends, and had received friendly usage from them, which we had not in the least dishonoured; but that, as friends in distress, we had never pretended to be, and really were not, for that we were neither in danger of anything or in want of anything; that, as to provisions, we were strong enough, if need were, to procure ourselves provisions in any part of the island, and had been several times supplied from the shore by the natives, for which we had always fully satisfied the people who furnished us; and that we scorned to be ungrateful for any

favour we should have received, much less to abuse it, or them for it.

That we had paid the full price of all the provisions we had received, and for the work that had been done to the ship; that what we had bargained for as the price of the ship had been paid, as far as the agreement made it due, and that what remained was ready to be paid as soon as the ship was finished, which was our bargain.

That as to the people who were willing to take service with us and enter themselves on board, it is true that the gunner and some other men offered themselves to us, and we had accepted of them, and we thought it was our part to accept or not to accept of such men as we thought fit. As for what was among themselves, that we had nothing to do with; that if we had been publicly warned by them not to have entertained any of their men, but with consent of the whole body, then indeed we should have had reason to be cautious; otherwise we were not in the least concerned about it. That it is true we refused to let their boats come on board us, being assured that they came in a hostile manner, either to take away the men by force, which had been entered in our service, or perhaps even to seize the ship itself; and why else was the first boat followed by two more full of men, armed and prepared to attack us? That we not only came in a friendly manner to them, but resolved to continue in friendship with them, if they thought fit to use us as friends; but that considering what part of the world we were in, and what their circumstances were, they must allow us to be on our guard, and not put ourselves in a condition to be used ill.

While he was talking thus with them in the cabin, he had ordered a can of flip to be made and given their men in the boat, and every one a dram of the bottle, but would not suffer them to come on board; however, one or two of them got leave to get in at one of the ports, and got between decks among our men; here they made terrible complaints of their condition, and begged hard to be entertained in our service. They were full of money, and gave twenty or thirty pieces of eight among our men, and by this present prevailed for two men to speak to my mate, who appeared as captain, to take the boat's crew on board. The mate very gravely told the two ambassadors of it, and told them that, seeing they were come with a flag of truce, he would not stop their men without their consent, but the men being so earnest he thought it would do better not to oppose them. The ambassadors, as I call them, opposed it, however, vehemently, and at last desired to go and talk with the men, which was granted them readily. When they came into their boat, their men told them plainly that one and all they would enter themselves with their countrymen; that they had been forced already to turn pirates, and they thought they might very justly turn honest men again by force, if they could not get leave to do it peaceably; and that, in short, they would go on shore no more; that if the ambassadors desired it they would set them on shore with the boat, but, as for themselves, they would go along with the new captain.

When the ambassadors saw this they had no more to do but to be satisfied, and so were set on shore where they desired, and their men stayed on board.

During this transaction my mate had sent a full

account to me of all that passed, and had desired me to come on board and give further directions in all that was to come; so I took our supercargo and Captain Mirlotte along with me, and some more of our officers, and went to them. It was my lot to come on board just when those famous ambassadors were talking with my mate, so I heard most of what they had to say, and heard the answer my mate gave them, as above, which was extremely to my satisfaction; nor did I interrupt him or take upon me any authority, though he would very submissively have had me shown myself as captain, but I bid him go on, and sat down as not concerned in the affair at all.

After the ambassadors were gone the first thing I did was in the presence of all the company, and having before had the opinion of those I brought with me to tell my second mate how well we were all satisfied with his conduct, and to declare him captain of the ship that he was in, only demanding his solemn oath to be under orders of the great ship as admiral, and to carry on no separate interest from us, which he thankfully accepted, and, to give him his due, as faithfully performed all the rest of our very long voyage, and through all our adventures.

It was upon my seeming intercession that he gave consent to the boat's crew who brought the ambassadors to remain in our service, and set their statesmen on shore; and, in fine, I told him that as far as about one hundred and fifty or two hundred men, he should entertain whom he thought fit; thus having settled all things in the ship to our satisfaction, we went back to our great ship the next day.

I had not been many hours on board our ship, but I was surprised with the firing of three muskets

from the shore; we wondered what should be the meaning of it, knowing that it was an unusual thing in that place, where we knew the natives of the country had no firearms, so we knew not what to make of it, and therefore took no notice of it other than, as I say, to wonder at it; about half-an-hour after that we heard three muskets more, and still not knowing anything of the matter, we made them no return to the signal; some time after three muskets were fired again, but all was one, we took no notice, for we knew nothing of what return was to be made to it.

When night came on we observed two great fires upon two several hills on that part of the shore opposite to us, and after that three rockets were fired, such as they were, but they went off ill; I suppose their gunner was ill provided for such things; but all signified nothing. We would have made any return to them that would have been understood, but we knew nothing of any agreed signal; however, I resolved that in the morning I would send a boat on shore well manned, to learn, if possible, what the meaning of all this was, and accordingly in the morning I sent our long-boat and shallop on shore, with thirty-two men in them both, to get intelligence, ordering them, if possible, to speak with somebody before they went on shore, and know how things stood; that then, if it was a party of the pirates, they should by no means come near them, but parley at a distance, till they knew what the meaning of it all was.

As soon as my men came near the shore they saw plainly that it was a body of near a hundred of the pirates, but seeing them so strong they stood off, and

would not come nearer, nor near enough to parley with them; upon this the men on shore got one of the islanders' canvas boats, or rather boats made of skins, which are but sorry ones at best, and put off, with two men to manage the sails, and one sitter, and two paddles for oars, and away they came towards us, carrying a flag of truce, that is to say, an old white rag; how they came to save so much linen among them all was very hard to say.

Our men could do no less than receive their ambassador, and a flag of truce gave no apprehension, especially considering the figure they made, and that the men on shore had no other boats to surprise or attack us with; so they lay by upon their oars till they came up, when they soon understood who they were: viz., that they were the gunner's selected men; that they came too late to have their signal perceived from the other ship, which was gone out of sight of the place they were directed to; that they had with great difficulty, and five days' and nights' marching, got through a woody and almost impassable country, to come to us; that they had fetched a circuit of near a hundred miles to avoid being attacked by their comrades, and that they were pursued by them, with their whole body, and therefore they begged to be taken on board; they said if they should be overtaken by their comrades they should be all cut in pieces, for that they had broke away from them by force, and, moreover, had been obliged, at the first of their pursuit, to face about and fire among them, by which they had killed six or seven of them, and wounded others, and that they had sworn they would give them no quarter if they could come fairly up with them.

Our men told them they must be contented to remain on shore where they were for some time, for that they could do nothing till they had been on board and acquainted their captain with all the particulars; so they came back immediately to me for orders.

As to me, I was a little uneasy at the thoughts of taking them on board. I knew they were a gang of pirates at best, and what they might do I knew not; but I sent them this message, that though all their tale might be very good for aught I knew, yet that I must take so much time as to send an express to the captain of the other ship, to be informed of the faith of it, and that if he brought a satisfactory answer, I would send for them all on board.

This was very uncomfortable news to them, for they expected to be surrounded every hour by their comrades, from whom they were to look for no mercy; however, seeing no remedy, they resolved to march about twenty miles farther south, and lie by in a place near the sea, where we agreed to send to them; concluding that their comrades not finding them near the place where we lay, would not imagine they could be gone farther that way. As they guessed, so it proved, for the pirates came to the shore, where they saw tokens enough of their having been there, but concluded that, seeing they could not be found there, they were all gone on board our ship.

The wind proving contrary, it was no less than four days before our boat came back, so that the poor men were held in great suspense; but when they returned, they brought the gunner with them, who had selected those men from all the rest for our

new ship; and who, when he came, gave me a long account of them, and what care he had taken to pick them out for our service, delivering me also a letter from my new captain to the same purpose. Upon all which concurring circumstances we concluded to take them on board; so we sent our boats for them, who at twice brought them all on board, and very stout, honest fellows they were.

When they had been on board some days, and refreshed themselves, I concluded to send them all on board the new ship; but upon advice I resolved to send sixty of my own men joined to forty of these, and keep thirty-four of them on board my ship, for their number was just seventy-four, which with the gunner and his twenty-one men, and the sixteen men who came with the worthy ambassadors, and would not go on shore again, made one hundred and twelve men; and, as we all thought, were enough for us, though we took in between forty and fifty more afterwards.

We were now ready to go to sea, and I caused the new ship and the brigantine to come away from the place where they lay and join us; which they did, and then we unloaded part of our provisions and ammunition, of which, as I observed at first, we had taken in double quantity; and having furnished the new ship with a proportion of all things necessary, we prepared for our voyage.

I should here give a long account of a second devilish conspiracy, which my two remaining prisoners had formed among the men, which was to betray the new ship to the pirates; but it is too long a story to put in here, nor did I make it public among the ship's company; but as it was only, as it were, laid down

in a scheme, and that they had no opportunity to put it in practice, I thought it was better to make as little noise of it as I could. So I ordered my new captain, for it was he who discovered it to me, to punish them in their own way, and without taking notice of their new villainies, to set them on shore, and leave them to take their fate with a set of rogues whom they had intended to join with, and whose profession was likely, some time or other, to bring them to the gallows; and thus I was rid of two incorrigible mutineers. What became of them afterwards I never heard.

We were now a little fleet, viz., two large ships and a brigantine, well manned and furnished with all sorts of necessaries for any voyage or any enterprise that was fit for men in our posture to undertake; and particularly here, I made a full design of the whole voyage, to be again openly declared to the men, and had them asked, one by one, if they were willing and resolved to undertake it, which they all very cheerfully answered in the affirmative.

Here we had opportunity to furnish ourselves with a vast stock of excellent beef, which, as I said before, we cured with little or no salt by drying it in the sun; and I believe we laid in such a store that in all our three vessels we had near a hundred and fifty tons of it; and it was of excellent use to us, and served us through the whole voyage. There was little else to be had in this place that was fit to be carried to sea, except that, as there was plenty of milk, some of our men that were more dexterous than others, made several large cheeses; nor were they very far short of English cheese, only that we were but indifferent dairy-folks. Our men made some butter also, and salted

it to keep, but it grew rank and oily, and was of no use to us.

It was on the 15th of December that we left this place, a country fruitful, populous, full of cattle, large and excellent good beef, and very fat, and the land able to produce all manner of good things; but the people wild, naked, black, barbarous, perfectly untractable, and insensible of any state of life being better than their own.

We stood away toward the shore of Arabia till we passed the line, and came into the latitude of eighteen degrees north, and then stood away east, and east by north, for the English factories of Surat and the coast of Malabar; not that we had any business there, or designed any, only that we had a mind to take on board a quantity of rice, if we could come at it; which at last we effected by a Portuguese vessel, which we met with at sea, bound to Goa from the Gulf of Persia. We chased her and brought her to indeed, as if we resolved to attack and take the ship; but finding a quantity of rice on board, which was what we wanted, with a parcel of coffee, we took all the rice, but paid the supercargo, who was a Persian or Armenian merchant, very honestly for the whole parcel his full price, and to his satisfaction. As for the coffee, we had no occasion for it. We put in at several ports on the Indian coast for fresh water and fresh provisions, but came near none of the factories, because we had no mind to discover ourselves; for though we were to sail through the very centre of the India trade, yet it was perfectly without any business among them. We met, indeed, on this coast with some pearl fishers, who had been in the mouth of the Arabian Gulf, and had a large quantity

of pearl on board. I would have traded with them for goods, but they understood nothing but money, and I refused to part with it. Upon which the fellows gave our supercargo some scurvy language, which, though he did not well understand what they said, yet he pretended to take it as a great affront, and threatened to make prize of their barks and slaves of the men; upon which they grew very humble, and one of them, a Malabar Indian, who spoke a little English, spoke for them that they would willingly trade with us for such goods as we had; whereupon I produced three bales of English cloth, which I showed them would be of good merchandise at Gombaroon in the Gulf, for that the Persians made their long vests of such cloths. In short, for this cloth and some money, we bought a box of choice pearls, which the chief of them had picked out from the rest for the Portuguese merchants at Goa, and which, when I came to London, was valued at two thousand two hundred pounds sterling.

We were near two months on our voyage from Madagascar to the coast of India, and from thence to Ceylon, where we put in on the south-west part of the island, to see what provisions we could get, and to take in a large supply of water. The people here we found willing to supply us with provisions, but withal so sharp, imposing upon us their own rates for everything, and withal so false, that we were often provoked to treat them very rudely. However, I gave strict orders that they should not be hurt upon any occasion, at least till we had filled all our water casks, and taken in what fresh provisions we could get, and especially rice, which we valued very much;

but they provoked us at last beyond all patience, for they were such thieves when they were on board, and such treacherous rogues when we were on shore, that there was no bearing it; and two accidents fell out upon this occasion, which fully broke the peace between us. One was on board, and the other was on shore, and both happened the same day. The case on board was this: — There came on board us a small boat, in which was eleven men and three boys, to sell us roots, yams, mangoes, and such stuff, as it was frequent for them to do every day; but this boat having more goods of that kind than usual, they were longer than ordinary making their market. While they were thus chaffering on board, one of them having wandered about the ship, and pretending to admire everything he saw, and being gotten between decks, was taken stealing a pair of shoes, which belonged to one of the seamen. The fellow being stopped for his theft, appeared angry, raised a hideous, screaming noise to alarm his fellows, and at the same time, having stolen a long pair of scissors, pulled them out and stabbed the man that had laid hold of him into the shoulder, and was going to double his blow, when the poor fellow that had been wounded having struck up his heels and fallen upon him, had killed him if I had not called to take him off and bring the thief up to me.

Upon this order, they took up the barbarian and brought him up with the shoes and the scissors that he had stolen, and as the facts were plain, and needed no witnesses, I caused all the rest of them to be brought up also, and, as well as we could, made them understand what he had done. They made pitiful signs of fear, lest they should all be punished for his

crime, and particularly when they saw the man whom he had wounded brought in; then they expected nothing but death, and they made a sad lamentation and howling, as if they were all to die immediately. It was not without a great deal of difficulty that I found ways to satisfy them, that nobody was to be punished but the man that had committed the fact; and then I caused him to be brought to the geers, with a halter about his neck, and be soundly whipped; and indeed our people did scourge him severely from head to foot; and I believe if I had not run myself to put an end to it, they had whipped him to death.

When this execution was over, they put him into their boat and let them all go on shore; but no sooner were they on shore but they raised a terrible hubbub among all the villages and towns near them, and they were not a few, the country being very populous, and a vast multitude of them came down to the shore, staring at us, and making confused ugly noises, and abundance of arrows they shot at the ship, but we rode too far from the shore for them to do us any hurt.

While this was doing, another fray happened on shore, where two of our men chaffering with an islander and his wife for some fowls, they took his money, or what else it was he was to give, and gave him part of the fowls, but they pretended the woman should go and fetch the rest. While the woman was gone, three or four more of the same sort came to the man that was left, and talking awhile together, seeing they were so many, and our men but two, they began to take hold of the fowls they had sold, and would take them away again; at which one of our

men stepped up to the fellow that had taken them up, and went to lay hold of him, but he was too nimble for him and ran away, and carried off the fowls and the money too. The seaman was so enraged to be served so, that he took up his piece, for they had both firearms with them, and fired immediately after him, and aimed his shot so luckily that, though the fellow flew like the wind, he shot him through the head, and he dropped down dead upon the spot.

The rest of them, though terribly frighted, yet seeing our men were but two, and the noise bringing twenty or thirty more immediately to them, attacked our men with their lances, and bows and arrows; and in a moment there was a pitched battle of two men only against twenty or thirty, and their number increasing too.

In short, our men spent their shot freely among them as long as it lasted, and killed six or seven, besides wounding ten or eleven more; and this cooled their courage, and they seemed to give over the battle; and our men, whose ammunition was almost spent, began to think of retreating to their boat, which was near a mile off, for they were very unhappily gotten from their boat so far up the country.

They made their retreat pretty well for about half the way, when, on a sudden, they saw they were not pursued only but surrounded, and that some of their enemies were before them. This made them double their pace, and seeing no remedy, they resolved to break through those that were before them, who were about eleven or twelve. Accordingly, as soon as they came within pistol-shot of them, one of our men having for want of shot put almost a handful of

gravel and small stones into his piece, and fired among them, and the gravel and stones scattering, wounded almost all of them; for they being naked from the waist upwards, the least grain of sand scratched and hurt them, and made them bleed if it did but touch them.

Being thus completely scared, and, indeed, more afraid than hurt, they all ran away except two, who were really wounded with the shot or stones, and lay upon the ground. Our men let them lie, and made the best of their way to their boat, where at last they got safe, but with five hundred of the people at their heels; their fellows did not stay to fire from the boat, but put off with all the speed they could, for fear of their poisoned arrows, and the country people poured so many of their arrows into the boat after them, and aimed them also so true, that two of our men were hurt with them, but whether they were poisoned or no, our surgeons cured them both.

We had enough of Ceylon, and having no business to make such a kind of a war as this must have been, in which we might have lost, but could get nothing, we weighed and stood away to the east. What became of the fellow that we lashed, we know not, but as he had but little flesh left on his back which was not mangled and torn with our whipping him, and we suppose they are but indifferent surgeons, our people said the fellow could not live; and the reason they gave for it was, because they did not pickle him after it. Truly, they said, that they would not be so kind to him as to pickle him; for though pickling, that is to say, throwing salt and vinegar on the back after the whipping be cruel enough as to the pain it is to the patient, yet 't is certainly the way to prevent

mortification, and causes it to heal again with more ease.

We stood over from Ceylon E.S.E. across the great Bay of Bengal, leaving all the coast of Coromandel, and standing directly for Anchin, on the north point of the great Island of Sumatra, and in the latitude of six degrees thirty-one minutes north.

Here we spread our French colours, and coming to an anchor, suffered none of our men to go on shore but Captain Mirlotte and his Frenchmen; and having nothing to do there, or anywhere else in the Indian Seas, but to take in provisions and fresh water, we stayed but five days, in which time we supplied ourselves with what the place would afford; and pretending to be bound for China, we went on to the south, through the Straits of Malacca, between the Island of Sumatra, and the Main or Isthmus of Malacca.

We had here a very difficult passage, though we took two pilots on board at Anchin, who pretended to know the straits perfectly well; twice we were in very great danger of being lost, and once our Madagascar ship was so entangled among rocks and currents that we gave her up for lost, and twice she struck upon the rocks, but she did but touch, and went clear.

We went several times on shore among the Malays, as well as on the shore of Malacca itself as on the side of Sumatra. They are a fierce, cruel, treacherous, and merciless set of human devils as any I have met with on the face of the whole earth, and we had some skirmishes with them, but not of any consequence. We made no stay anywhere in this strait but just for fresh water, and what other fresh

provisions we could get, such as roots, greens, hogs, and fowls, of which they have plenty and a great variety; but nothing to be had but for ready money, which our men took so unkindly, and especially their offering two or three times to cheat them, and once to murder them, that after that they made no scruple to go on shore a hundred or more at a time, and plunder and burn what they could not carry off; till at last we began to be such a terror to them that they fled from us wherever we came.

On the 5th of March we made the southernmost point of the Isthmus of Malacca, and the Island and Straits of Singapore, famous for its being the great outlet into the Chinese Sea, and lying in the latitude of one degree fifteen minutes north latitude.

We had good weather through these straits, which was very much to our comfort, the different currents and number of little islands making it otherwise very dangerous, especially to strangers. We got by very good luck a Dutch pilot to carry us through this strait, who was a very useful, skilful fellow, but withal so very impertinent and inquisitive, that we knew not what to say to him or what to do with him. At last he grew saucy and insolent, and told our chief mate that he did not know but we might be pirates, or at least enemies to his countrymen the Dutch; and if we would not tell him who we were, and whither we were bound, he would not pilot us any farther.

This I thought very insolent, to a degree beyond what was sufferable; and I bid the boatswain put a halter about the fellow's neck, and tell him that the moment he omitted to direct the steerage as a pilot, or the moment the ship came to any misfortune, or

struck upon any rock, he should be trussed up. The boatswain, a rugged fellow, provides himself with a halter, and coming up to the pilot, asked him what it was he wanted to be satisfied in? The pilot said he desired to have a true account whither we were going. "Why," says the boatswain, "we are agoing to the devil, and I shall send you before us to tell him we are coming;" and with that he pulls the halter out of his pocket, and puts it over his head, and taking the other end of it in his hand, "Come," says the boatswain, "come along with me; do you think we can't go through the Strait of Singapore without your help? I warrant you," says he, "we will do without you."

By this time, you may suppose the Dutchman to be in a mortal fright, and half choked too with being dragged by the throat with the halter, and full heartily he begged for his life. At length the boatswain, who had pulled him along a good way, stopped, and the Dutchman fell down upon his knees; but the boatswain said he had the captain's orders to hang him, and hang him he would unless the captain recalled his orders; but that he would stay so long if anybody would go up to the captain and tell him what the Dutchman said, and bring back an answer.

I had no design to hang the poor fellow, you may be sure, and the boatswain knew that well enough. However, I was resolved to humble him effectually, so I sent back two men to the boatswain, the first was to tell the boatswain aloud that the captain was resolved to have the fellow hanged for having been so impudent to threaten to run the ship aground; but then the second, who was to stay a little behind,

was to call out as if he came since the first from me, and that I had been prevailed with to pardon him on his promises of better behaviour. This was all acted to the life; for the first messenger called aloud to the boatswain that the captain said he would have the Dutchman hanged for a warning to all pilots, and to teach them not to insult men when they were in difficulties, as the midwives do whores in travail, and won't deliver them till they confess who is the father.

The boatswain had the end of the halter in his hand all the while: "I told you so," says he, "before; come, come along, Mynheer," says he, "I shall quickly do your work, and put you out of your pain," and then he dragged the poor fellow along to the main-mast. By this time the second messenger came in and delivered his part of the errand, and so the poor Dutchman was put out of his fright, and they gave him a dram to restore him a little, and he did his work very honestly afterwards.

And now we were got loose again, being in the open sea, which was what we were very impatient for before. We had now a long run over that part which we call the Sea of Borneo, and the upper part of the Indian Arches, called so for its being full of islands, like the Archipelago of the Levant. It was a long run, but as we were to the north of the islands we had the more sea-room, so we steered east half a point, one way or other for the Manillas or Philippine Islands, which was the true design of our voyage, and perhaps we were the first ship that ever came to these islands freighted from Europe since the Portuguese lost their footing there.

We put in on the north coast of Borneo for fresh water, and were civilly enough used by the inhabi-

tants of the place, who brought us roots, and fruits of several kinds, and some goats, which we were glad of. We paid them in trifles, such as knives, scissors, toys, and several sorts of wrought iron, hatchets, hammers, glass-work, looking-glasses, drinking-glasses, and the like. From hence we went away, as I say, for the Philippine Islands. We saw several islands in our way, but made no stop, except once for water, and arrived at Manilla the 22nd of May, all our vessels in very good condition, our men healthy, and our ships sound, having met with very few contrary winds, and not one storm in the whole voyage from Madagascar, having been seventeen months and two days on the voyage from England.

When we came hither we saluted the Spanish flag, and came to an anchor, carrying French colours. Captain Mirlotte, who now acted as commander, sent his boat on shore the next day to the governor, with a letter in French, very respectful, and telling the governor that, having the King of France's commission, and being come into those seas, he hoped that, for the friendship which was between their most Christian and Catholic Majesties, he should be allowed the freedom of commerce and the use of the port, the like having been granted to his most Christian Majesty's subjects in all the ports of New Spain as well in the Southern as in the Northern Seas. The Spanish governor returned a very civil and obliging answer, and immediately granted us to buy what provisions we pleased for our supply, or anything else for our use; but answered, that as for allowing any exchange of merchandises, or giving leave for European goods to be brought on shore there, that he was not empowered to grant.

We made as if this answer was satisfactory enough to us, and the next morning Captain Mirlotte sent his boat on shore with all French sailors, and a French midshipman, with a handsome present to the governor, consisting of some bottles of French wine, some brandy, two pieces of fine Holland, two pieces of English black baize, one piece of fine French drugget, and five yards of scarlet woollen cloth.

This was too considerable a present for the Spaniard to refuse, and yet these were all European goods, which he seemed not to allow to come on shore. The governor let the captain know that he accepted his present, and the men who brought it were handsomely entertained, by the governor's order, and had every one a small piece of gold, and the officer who went at their head had five pieces of gold given him; what coin it was I could not tell, but I think it was a Japan coin, and the value something less than a pistole. The next day the governor sent a gentleman with a large boat, and in it a present to our captain, consisting of two cows, ten sheep, or goats rather, for they were between both, a vast number of fowls of several sorts, and twelve great boxes of sweetmeats and conserves, which were indeed very valuable, and invited the captain and any of his attendants on shore, offering to send hostages on board for our safe return, and concluding with his word of honour for our safety and free going back to our ships.

The captain received the present with very great respect, and indeed it was a very noble present; for at the same time a boat was sent to both the other ships with provisions and sweetmeats, in proportion to the bigness of the vessels. Our captains caused

the gentleman who came with this present to have a fine piece of crimson English cloth given him, sufficient to make a waistcoat and breeches of their fashion, with a very good hat, two pair of silk stockings, and two pair of gloves; and all his people had a piece of drugget given them sufficient to make them the like suit of clothes. The persons who went to the other ship and to the brigantine had presents in proportion. This, in short, was nothing more or less than trading and bartering, though, for the grimace of it, we were in a manner denied.

The next day the captain went on shore to visit the governor, and with him several of our officers and the captain of the Madagascar ship, formerly my second mate, and the captain of the brigantine. I did not go myself for that time, nor the supercargo, because whatever might happen I would be reserved on board; besides I did not care to appear in this part of the work.

The captain went on shore like a captain, attended with his two trumpeters, and the ship firing eleven guns at his going off. The governor received him like himself, with prodigious state and formality, sending five gentlemen and a guard of soldiers to receive them on their landing, and to conduct them to his palace. When they came there they were entertained with the utmost profusion and wonderful magnificence, after the Spanish manner, and they all had the honour to dine with his excellency, that is to say, all the officers. At the same time the men were entertained very handsomely in another house, and had very good cheer; but it was observed that they had very little wine, except what we had sent them, which the governor excused, his store, which he had

yearly from New Spain, being spent; which deficiency we supplied the next day, and sent him a quarter cask of very good Canary, and a half hogshead of Madeira, which was a present so acceptable, that, in short, after this we might do just as we pleased with him and all his men.

While they were thus conversing together after dinner, Captain Mirlotte was made to understand that though the governor could not admit an open avowed trade, yet that the merchants would not be forbid coming on board our ship, and trading with us in such manner as we should be very well satisfied with, after which we should be at no hazard of getting the goods we should sell put on shore; and we had an experiment of this made in a few days, as follows: —

When Captain Mirlotte took his leave of the governor, he invited his excellency to come on board our ship, with such of his attendants as he pleased to bring with him, and in like manner offered hostages for his return. The governor accepted the invitation, and, with the same generosity, said he would take his parole of honour given, as he was the King of France's captain, and in the name of his most Christian Majesty, and would come on board.

The governor did not come to the sea side with them, but stood in the window of the palace, and gave them his hat and leg at going into their boats, and made a signal to the platform to fire eleven guns at their boats putting off.

These were unusual and unexpected honours to us, who, but for this stratagem of the French commission, had been declared enemies. It was suggested to me here, that I might with great ease surprise the whole

island, nay, all the islands, the governor putting such confidence in us, that we might go on shore in the very port unsuspected. But though this was true, and that we did play them a trick at the Rio de la Plata, I could not bear the thoughts of it here; besides, I had quite another game to play, which also was more advantageous to us and to our voyage than an enterprise of so much treachery could be to England; which, also, we might not be able to support from England before the Spaniards might beat us out again from Acapulco, and then we might pass our time ill enough.

Upon the whole I resolved to keep every punctilio with the governor very justly, and we found our account in it presently.

About three days afterwards we had notice that the governor would make us a visit, and we prepared to entertain his excellency with as much state as possible; by the way, we had private notice that the governor would bring with him some merchants, who, perhaps, might lay out some money, and buy some of our cargo; nor was it without a secret information that even the governor himself was concerned in the market that should be made.

Upon this intelligence, our supercargo caused several bales of English and French goods to be brought up and opened, and laid so in the steerage and upon the quarter-deck of the ship that the governor and his attendants should see them, of course, as they passed by.

When the boats came off from the shore, which we knew by their fort firing eleven guns, as before, our ship appeared as fine as we could make her, having the French flag at the maintop, as admiral, and

streamers and pennants at the yard-arms, waste-cloths out, and a very fine awning over the quarter-deck. When his excellency entered the ship we fired twenty-one guns, the Madagascar ship fired the like number, and the brigantine fifteen, having loaded her guns nimbly enough to fire twice.

As the governor's entertainment to us was more meat than liquor, so we gave him more liquor than meat, for as we had several sorts of very good wines on board, we spared nothing to let him see he was very welcome. After dinner we brought a large bowl of punch upon the table, which was a liquor he did not understand at all; however, to do him justice, he drank very moderately, and so did most of those that were with him. As to the men who belonged to his retinue (I mean servants and attendants, and the crews of the boats), we made some of them drunk enough.

While this was doing, we found two gentlemen of the governor's company took occasion to leave the rest, and walked about the ship, and in doing this they seemed as it were by chance to cast their eyes upon our bales of cloth and stuffs, and baize, linen, silks, &c., and our supercargo and they began to make bargains apace, for he found they had not only money enough, but had abundance of other things, which we were as willing to take as money, and of which they had brought specimens with them, as particularly spices, such as cloves and nutmegs, China ware, tea, japanned ware, wrought silks, raw silks, and the like. However, our supercargo dealt with them at present for nothing but ready money, and they paid all in gold. The price he made here was to us indeed extravagant, though to them mod-

erate, seeing they had been used to buy these goods from the Acapulco ships, which came in yearly, from whom, to be sure, they bought dear enough. They bought as many goods at this time as they paid the value of fifteen thousand pieces of eight for, but all in gold by weight.

As for carrying them on shore, the governor being with them, no officer had anything to say to them; it seems they were carried on shore as presents made by us to the governor and his retinue.

The next day three Spanish merchants came on board us, early in the morning before it was light, and desired to see the supercargo. They brought with them a box of diamonds and some pearl, and a great quantity of gold, and to work they went with our cargo, and I thought once they would have bought the whole ship's lading; but they contented themselves to buy about the value of two-and-twenty thousand pieces of eight, which, I suppose, might cost in England one-sixth part of the money, or hardly so much. We had some difficulty about the diamonds, because we did not understand them very much, but our supercargo ventured upon them at eight thousand pieces of eight, and took the rest in gold. They desired to stay on board till the next night, when, soon after it was dark, a small sloop came on board and took in all their goods, and, as we were told, carried them away to some other island.

The same day, and before these merchants were gone, came a large shallop on board with a square sail, towing after her a great heavy boat, which had a deck, but seemed to have been a large ship's long-boat, built into a kind of yacht, but ill-masted, and sailed heavily. In these two boats they brought seven

ton of cloves in mats, some chests of China ware, some pieces of China silks of various sorts, and a great sum of money also.

In short, they sold so cheap and bought so dear, that our supercargo declared he would sell the whole cargo for goods, if they would bring them, for, by his calculation, he had disposed of as many goods as he had received the value of one hundred thousand pieces of eight for, all which, by his accounts, did not amount to, first cost, above three thousand pounds sterling in England. Our ship was now an open fair for two or three days after the vessel came back, which went away in the night, and with them a Chinese junk and seven or eight Chinese or Japanners; strange, ugly, ill-looking fellows they were, but brought a Spaniard to be their interpreter, and they came to trade also, bringing with them seventy great chests of China ware, exceeding fine, twelve chests of China silks of several sorts, and some lacquered cabinets, very fine. We dealt with them for all those, for our supercargo swept all clean, and took everything they brought. But they were more difficult in the goods, for as for baize, and druggets, and such goods, they would not meddle with them; but our fine cloths and some bales of linen they bought very freely. So we unloaded their vessel, and put our goods on board; we took a good sum of money of them besides; but whither they went we knew not, for they both came and went in the night too, as the other did.

This trade held a good while, and we found that our customers came more from other islands than from the island where the governor resided, the reason of which, as we understood afterwards, was,

because, as the governor had not openly granted a freedom of commerce, but privately winked at it, so they were not willing to carry it on openly before his face, or, as we say, under his nose, whereas in other islands they could convey their goods on shore with very little hazard, agreeing with the custom-house officer for a small matter.

These boats came and went thus several times, till, in short, we had disposed almost of the whole cargo; and now our men began to be convinced that we had laid out our voyage very right, for never was cargo better sold; and as we resolved to pursue our voyage for New Spain, we had taken in a cargo very proper to sell there, and so perhaps to double the advantage we had already made.

In the meantime all our hands were at work to store ourselves anew with such provisions as could be had here for so long a run as we knew we were to have next, namely, over the vast Pacific Ocean or South Sea, a voyage where we might expect to see no land for four months, except we touched at the Ladrones, as it might happen; and our greatest anxiety was for want of water, of which our whole ships could scarce be able to stow sufficient for our use; and if they could, our want of casks was still as bad as the want of water, for we really knew not what to put water in when we had it.

The Spaniards had helped us to some casks, but not many; those that they could spare were but small, and at last we were obliged to make use of about two hundred large earthen jars, which were of singular use to us. We got a large quantity of good rice here, which we bought of a Chinese merchant, who came in here with a large China vessel

to trade, and who bought of us also several of our European goods.

Just as we were ready to sail, a boat came from the town of Manilla, and brought a new merchant, who wanted more English goods, but we had but few left. He brought with him thirty chests of calicoes, muslins, wrought silks, some of them admirably fine indeed, with fifteen bales of romals, and twelve ton of nutmegs. We sold them what goods we had left, and gave them money for the rest, but had them at a price so cheap as was sufficient to let us know that it was always well worth while for ships to trade from Europe to the East Indies, from whence they are sure to make five or six of one. Had more of these merchants come on board, we were resolved to have laid out all the gold and silver we had on board, which, I assure you, was a very considerable quantity.

The last merchant who came on board us was a Spaniard, but I found that he spoke very good French and some English, that he had been in England some years ago, and understood English woollen manufactures very well. He told me they had these goods all from Acapulco, but that they were then excessive dear; he had considerable dealings with the Chinese, and some with the coast of Coromandel, and Bengal, and kept a vessel or two of his own to go to Bengal, which generally went twice in a year.

I found he had great business with New Spain, and that he generally had one of the Acapulco ships chiefly consigned to him, so that he was full of all such goods as those ships generally carried away from the Manillas; and had we traded with him

sooner, we had had more calicoes and muslins than we now had. However, we were exceedingly well stored with goods of all sorts, suitable for a market in Peru, whither I resolved to go.

We continued chaffering after this manner about nine weeks, during which time we careened our ships, cleaned their bottoms, rummaged our gold, and repacked some of our provisions, endeavouring as much as possible to keep all our men as fully employed as we could, to preserve them in health, and yet not to overwork them, considering the heat of the climate.

Some time before we were ready to sail, I called all the warrant-officers together, and told them that as we were come to a country where abundance of small things were to be bought, and going to a country where we might possibly have room to sell them again to advantage, I would advance to every officer an hundred dollars, upon account of their pay, that they might lay it out to their advantage here, and dispose it again on the coast of New Spain; this was very acceptable to them, and they acknowledged it. And here, besides this, by the consent of all our superior officers, I gave a largess or bounty of five dollars a man to all our fore-mast men, most of which, I believe, they laid out in arrack and sugar, to cheer them up in the rest of the voyage, which they all knew would be long enough.

We went away from Marcilla in the island of Luzon or Luconia the 15th of the month of August, and in the year 1714; and sailing awhile to the southward, passed the straits between that island and Mindanoa, another of the Philippines, where we met with little extraordinary, except extraordinary lightning and thunders, such as we never heard or

saw before, though it seems it is very familiar in that climate, till about sixteen days' sailing we saw the Isle of Guam, one of the Ladrones, or Isle of Thieves, for so much the word imports. Here we came to an anchor, September 3rd, under the lee of a steep shore, on the north side of the Isle of Guam; but, as we wanted no trade here, we did not at first inquire after the chief port, or Spanish governor, or anything of that kind, but we changed our situation the next day, and went through the passage, to the east side of the island, and came to an anchor off of the town.

The people came off, and brought us hogs and fowls, and several sorts of roots and greens, things which we were very glad of, and which we bought the more of because we always found that such things were good to keep the men from the scurvy, and even to cure them of it if they had it. We took in fresh water here also, though it was with some difficulty, the water lying half a mile from the shore.

When I parted from Manilla, and was getting through the strait between the Island Lucon and that of Mindanoa, I had some thoughts of steering away north, to try what land we might meet with to the north-east of the Philippines, and with intent to have endeavoured to make up into the latitude of fifty or sixty degrees, and have come about again to the south, between the Island of California and the mainland of America, in which course I did not question meeting with extraordinary new discoveries, and perhaps such as the age might not expect to hear of, relating to the northern world, and the possibility of a passage out of those seas, either east

or west, both which I doubt not would be found, if they were searched after this way, and which, for aught I know, remain undiscovered for want only of an attempt being made by those seas, where it would be easy to find whether the Tartarian Seas are navigable or not, and whether Nova Zembla be an island or joined to the main; whether the inlets of Hudson's Bay have any opening into the West Sea; and whether the vast lakes from whence the great river of Canada is said to flow have any communication this way or not.

But though these were valuable discoveries, yet when when I began to cast up the account in a more serious manner, they appeared to have no relation to or coherence with our intended voyage, or with the design of our employers, which we were to consider in the first place; for though it is true that we were encouraged to make all such kinds of useful discoveries as might tend to the advantage of trade, and the improvement of geographical knowledge and experience, yet it was all to be so directed as to be subservient to the profits and advantages of a trading and cruising voyage.

It is true that these northern discoveries might be inimitably fine, and most glorious things to the British nation, and infinitely for the future advantage of commerce in general; yet, as I have said, it was evident that they tended directly to destroy the voyage, either as to trading or to cruising, and might perhaps end in our own destruction also; for example, first of all, if adventuring into those northern seas, we should, by our industry, make out the discovery and find a passage, either east or west, we must follow the discovery so as to venture quite

through, or else we could not be sure that it was really a discovery, for these passages would not be like doubling Cape de Bon Esperance, on the point of Africa, or going round Cape Horn, the southernmost point of America, either of which were compassed in a few days, and then immediately gave an opening into the Indian or Southern Oceans, where good weather and certain refreshment were to be had.

Whereas, for the discovery of the north, after having passed the northernmost land of Grand Tartary, in the latitude of seventy-four, even to eighty degrees, and perhaps to the very North Pole; there must be a run west beyond the most northerly point of Nova Zembla, and on again W.S.W. about the North Kyn and North Cape above six hundred leagues, before we could have any relief of the climate; after that, one hundred and sixty leagues more, and even to Shetland and the north of Scotland, before we could meet with any relief of provisions, which, after the length we must have run, from the latitude of three degrees and a half, where we now were at the Philippine Islands, to seventy-four degrees north, being near five thousand miles, would be impossible to be done, unless we were sure to victual, and furnish ourselves again with provisions and water by the way, and that in several places.

As to the other passage east towards the continent of America, we had this uncertainty also, namely, that it was not yet discovered whether the land of California was an island or a continent, and that if it should prove the latter, so as that we should be obliged to come back to the west, and not be able to find an opening between California and the land of North America, so as to come away to the coast of

Mexico to Acapulco, and so into the South Sea, and at the same time should not find a passage through Hudson's Bay, &c., into the North Sea, and so to Europe, we should not only spoil the voyage that way also, but should infallibly perish by the severity of the season and want of provisions.

All these things argued against any attempt that way, whereas, on the other hand, for southern discoveries we had this particular encouragement — that whatever disappointment we might meet with in the search after unknown countries, yet we were sure of an open sea behind us, and that whenever we thought fit to run south, beyond the tropic, we should find innumerable islands where we might get water and some sort of provisions, or come back into a favourable climate, and have the benefit of the trade winds to carry us either backward or forward, as the season should happen to guide us.

Last of all, we had this assurance, that the dangers of the seas excepted, we were sure of an outlet before us if we went forward, or behind us if we were forced back, and having a rich cargo, if we were to do nothing but go home, we should be able to give our employers such an account of ourselves as that they would be very far from being losers by the voyage; but that if we reached safe to the coast of New Spain, and met with an open commerce there, as we expected, we should perhaps make the most prosperous voyage that was ever made round the globe before.

These considerations put an end to all my thoughts of going northward; some of our secret council — for, by the way, we consulted our fore-mast men no more, but had a secret council among ourselves, the resolutions of which we solemnly engaged not

to disclose — some of these, I say, were for steering the usual course from the Philippines to New Spain, viz., keeping in the latitudes of eleven or thirteen degrees north of the line, and so making directly for California, in which latitude they proposed that we might perhaps, by cruising thereabout, meet with the Manilla ships going from New Spain to Manilla, which we might take as a prize, and then stand directly for the coast of Peru.

But I opposed this, principally because it would effectually overthrow all my meditated discoveries to the southward, and secondly, because I had observed that on the north of the line there are no islands to be met with in all the long run of near two thousand leagues, from the Guam, one of the Ladrones, to the land of California, and that we did not find we were able to subsist during so long a run, especially for want of water; whereas on the south of the line, as well within the tropic as without, we were sure to meet with islands innumerable, and that even all the way, so that we were sure of frequent relief of fresh water, of plants, fowl and fish, if not bread and flesh, almost all the way.

This was a main consideration to our men, and so we soon resolved to take the southern course; yet, as I said, we stood away for the Ladrones first. These are a cluster of islands which lie in about eleven to thirteen degrees north latitude, north-east from the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, and E. and by N. from that part of the Philippines where we were, and at the distance of about four hundred leagues; and all the ships which go and come between the Philippines and New Spain, touch at them for the convenience of provisions, water, &c.; those that go

to Spain put in there, in order to recruit and furnish for, and those that come from Spain, to relieve themselves after so long a run as that of six thousand miles, for so much it is at least from Guam to Acapulco; on these accounts and with these reasonings, we came to the islands of the Ladrones.

During our run between the Philippine and Ladrone Islands, we lived wholly upon our fresh provisions, of which we laid in a great stock at Manilla, such as hogs, fowls, calves, and six or seven cows, all alive, so that our English beef and pork, which lay well stored, was not touched for a long time.

At the Ladrones we recruited, and particularly took on board, as well alive as pickled up, near two hundred hogs, with a vast store of roots, and such things as are their usual food in that country. We took in also about three thousand cocoa-nuts and cabbages, yams, potatoes, and other roots, for our own use, and in particular we got a large quantity of maize, or Indian wheat, for bread, and some rice.

We stored ourselves likewise with oranges and lemons, and buying a great quantity of very good limes, we made three or four hogsheads of lime-juice, which was a great relief to our men in the hot season, to mix with their water; as for making punch, we had some arrack and some sugar, but neither of them in any quantity, so as to have much punch made afore the mast.

We were eighteen days on our passage from the Strait of Mindanoa to Guam, and stayed six days at Guam, furnishing ourselves with provisions, appearing all this while with French colours, and Captain Mirlotte as commander. However, we made no great

ceremony here with the Spanish governor, as I have said already, only that Captain Mirlotte, after we had been here two days, sent a letter to him by a French officer, who, showing his commission from the King of France, the governor presently gave us product, as we called it, and leave to buy what provisions we wanted. In compliment for this civility, we sent him a small present of fine scarlet camblet, and two pieces of baize; and he made a very handsome return in such refreshments as he thought we most wanted.

There was another reason for our keeping in this latitude till we came to the Ladrones, namely, that all the southern side of that part of the way between the Philippines and the Ladrones is so full of islands, that unless we had very good pilots it would have been very hazardous; and add to this that beyond these islands, south, is no passage, the land which they call Nova Guinea lying away east and E.S.E., farther than has yet been discovered, so that it is not yet known whether that country be an island or the continent.

Having, for all these reasons, gone to the Ladrones, and being sufficiently satisfied in our reasons for going away from thence to the southward, and having stored ourselves as above, with whatever those islands produced, we left the Ladrones about the 10th day of September in the evening, and stood away E.S.E., with the wind N.N.W., a fresh gale; after this I think it was about five days, when having stretched by our account about a hundred and fifty leagues, we steered away more to the southward, our course S.E. by S.

And now, if ever, I expected to do something by way of discovery. I knew very well there were few,

if any, had ever steered this course, or that if they had they had given very little account of their travels. The only person who leaves anything worth notice being Cornelius Schouten and Jacob Le Maire, who, though they sailed very much south, yet say very little to the purpose, as I shall show presently.

The sixteenth day after we parted from the Ladrones, being, by observation, in the latitude of seventeen degrees south of the line, one of our men cried, "A sail! a sail!" which put us into some fit of wonder, knowing nothing of a ship of any bulk could be met with in those seas; but our fit of wonder was soon turned into a fit of laughter, when one of our men from the foretop cried out, "Land!" which indeed was the case; and the first sailor was sufficiently laughed at for his mistake, though, give him his due, it looked at first as like a sail as ever any land at a distance could look.

Towards evening we made the land very plain, distance about seven leagues S. by E., and found that it was not an island, but a vast tract of land, extending, as we had reason to believe, from the side of Gillolo, and the Spice Islands, or that which we call Nova Guinea, and never yet fully discovered; the land lying away from the west N.W. to the S.E. by south, still southerly.

I, that was for making all possible discovery, was willing, besides the convenience of water, and perhaps fresh provisions, to put her in, and see what kind of a country it was; so I ordered the brigantine to stand in for the shore. They sounded, but found no ground within half a league of the shore; so they hoisted out their boat, and went close in with the shore, where they found good anchor-hold in about

thirty-six fathom, and a large creek, or mouth of a river; here they found eleven to thirteen fathom, soft, oozy sand, and the water half fresh at the mouth of the creek.

Upon notice of this we stood in, and came all to an anchor in the very creek; and sending our boats up the creek, found the water perfectly fresh, and very good upon the ebb, about a league up the river.

Among all the islands in this part of the world, that is to say, from the Philippines eastward, of which there are an infinite number, we never came near any but we found ourselves surrounded with canoes, and a variety of boats, bringing off to us cocoa-nuts, plantains, roots, and greens, to traffic for such things as they could get, and that in such numbers that we were tired of them, and sometimes alarmed and obliged to fire at them; but here, though we saw great numbers of people at a distance from the shore, yet we saw not one boat or bark, nor anything else upon the water.

We stayed two or three days taking in fresh water, but it was impossible to restrain our men from going on shore to see what sort of a country it was; and I was very willing they should do so. Accordingly, two of our boats, with about thirty men in both of them, went on shore on the east side of the creek or harbour where our ships lay.

They found the country looked wild and savage enough; but though they could find no houses or speak with the inhabitants, they saw their footsteps and their seats, where they had sat down under some trees; and after wandering about a little, they saw people, both men and women, at a distance; but they

ran away from our men at first sight, like frighted deer, nor could they make any signal to them to be understood, for when our men hallooed and called after them, they ran again as if they had been bewitched.

Our men gathered a great variety of green stuff, though they knew not of what kind, and brought it all on board, and we ate a great deal of it; some we boiled and made broth of; and some of our men, who had the scurvy, found it did them a great deal of good; for the herbs eat all spicy, and had a most pleasant, agreeable taste, but none of us could tell what to call it, though we had several men on board who had been among the Spice Islands before in Dutch ships.

We were very uneasy that we could get nothing here but a little grass and pot-herbs, as our men called it, and they moved me to let them have two boats and go up the river, as high as the tide would carry them. This I consented to, being as willing to make the discovery as they; so I ordered the captain of the Madagascar ship, who had, as I have said, been formerly my second mate, I say, I ordered him to go along with them.

But in the morning, a little before the flood was made, I was called out of my cabin to see an army, as they told me, coming out to attack us. I turned out hastily enough, you may be sure, and such an army no ship was ever attacked with, for we spied three or four hundred black creatures come playing and tumbling down the stream towards us like so many porpoises in the water. I was not satisfied at first that they were human creatures, but would have persuaded our men that they were sea monsters, and

that they were certainly fishes of some strange kind. But they quickly undeceived us, for they came swimming about our ships, staring and wondering and calling to one another, but said not one word to us, at least if they did we could not understand it.

Some of them came very near our ship, and we made signs to them to come on board, but they would not venture. We tossed one of them a rope, and he took hold of it boldly, but as soon as we offered to pull, he let go and laughed at us; another of them did the like, and when he let go turned up his black buttocks as in sport at us, the language of which, in our country, we all knew, but whether they meant it so or not that we cannot tell.

However, this dumb conversing with them we did not like, neither was it to any purpose to us, and I was resolved, if possible, to know something more of them than we could get thus; so I ordered out our pinnace, with six oars, and as many other men well armed, to row among them, and, if possible, to take some of them and bring them on board. They went off; but the six-oared pinnace, though a very nimble boat, could not row so fast as they could swim; for if, pulling with all their might, they came near one of them, immediately, like dog and duck, they would dive and come up again thirty or forty yards off, so that our men did not know which way to row after them. However, at last getting among the thickest of them they got hold of two, and with some difficulty dragged them in, but were surprised to find they were both women; however, they brought them on board naked as they were. When they came on board I ordered they should have two pieces of linen wrapped round their waists to cover them, which they

seemed extraordinary glad of. We gave them also several strings of beads, and our men tied them about their necks and about their arms like bracelets, and they were wonderfully pleased with that. Others of our men gave each of them a pair of scissors, with needles and some thread, and threading the needles, showed them how to sew with them. We gave them food, and each of them a dram of arrack, and made signs to know of them where they lived; they pointed up to the river, but we could by no means understand them. When we had dressed them up thus with necklaces and bracelets and linen, we brought them upon the deck, and made them call to their country folk, and let them see how well they were used, and ask them to come on board, but they would not venture.

However, as I thought the discovery we were to make would be something the easier on the account of the usage of these two young women (for they were not, as we guessed, above twenty or two-and-twenty years of age), we resolved that the boat should go on, as we intended, up the river, and that as these two women pointed that way they should carry them along with them.

Accordingly we sent two shallops, or large boats, which carried together sixty men all well armed. We gave them a store of beads, knives, and scissors, and such baubles with them, with hatchets and nails, and hooks, looking-glasses, and the like; and we built up the sides and stern of the boat, and covered them with boards to keep off arrows and darts, if they should find occasion, so that they looked like London barges. In this posture, as soon as the tide of flood was made up, our men went away, carrying a drum

and trumpet in each boat, and each boat had also two pattereroes fixed on the gunnel near the bow.

Thus furnished, they went off at about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and to my very great uneasiness, I heard no more of them for four days; and the whole ship's company were indeed surprised at their stay, and the captain of the sloop would fain have had me let him have sailed up the river with the sloop as far as the channel would serve, which indeed we found was deep enough. Indeed, as I was unwilling to run any more risks, I could not persuade myself but that the force I had already sent was sufficient to fight five thousand naked creatures such as the natives seemed to be; and therefore I was very unwilling to send. However, I consented at last to have our long-boat and two smaller boats manned with fifty-four men more, well armed and covered from arrows and darts, as the other had been, go up the river, upon their solemn promise, and with express order, to return the next day at farthest; ordering them to fire guns as they went up the river to give notice to their fellows, if they could be heard, that they were coming, and that in the meantime if I fired three guns they should immediately return.

They went away with the tide of flood, a little before noon, and went up the river about five leagues, the tide running but slowly up, and a strong fresh of land water that checked the tide coming down, so that when the tide was spent they came to an anchor. They found the river, contrary to their expectation, continued both deep enough and was wider in breadth than where the ships were at anchor, and that it had another mouth or outlet into the sea some leagues farther east, so that the land to the east of us, where

our men went on shore, was but an island, and had not many inhabitants, if any at all; the people they had seen there having possibly swam over the other arm or branch of the river to observe our ships the nearer.

As our men found they could go no farther for want of the tide, they resolved to come to an anchor; but just as they were sounding, to see what ground they had and what depth, a small breeze at N.E. sprung up, by which they stemmed the current and reached up about two leagues farther, when they hove over their grappling in five fathom water, soft ground; so that all this way, and much farther, all our ships might have gone up the channel, being as broad as the Thames is about Vauxhall.

It must be observed, that all along this river they found the land, after they came past the place where the other branch of the river broke off eastward, was full of inhabitants on both sides, who frequently came down to the water-side to gaze and look at our boats; but always when our men called to them, as if they thought our men inquired after their fellows, they pointed up the river, which was as much as to say they were gone farther that way.

However, our men not being able to go any farther against the tide, took no notice of that; but after a little while some of them, in one of the smaller boats, rowed towards the shore, holding a white flag to the people, in token of peace. But it was all one, and would have been all one, for aught we know, if they had held up a red flag, for they all ran away, men, women, and children, nor could our men by any persuasions, by gestures and signs of any kind, prevail on them to stay, or hardly so much as to look at them.

The night coming on, our men knew not well what course to take. They saw several of the Indians' dwellings and habitations, but they were all at a distance from the river, occasioned, as our men supposed, by the river's overflowing the flat grounds near its banks so as to render those lands not habitable.

Our men had a great mind to have gone up to one of the towns they saw, but he that commanded would not permit it, but told them that if they could find a good landing place they might all go ashore, except a few to keep the boats, if they would venture: upon which the smallest boat rowed up about a mile, and found a small river running into the greater, and here they all resolved to land; but first they fired two muskets to give notice, if possible, to their comrades that they were at hand; however, they heard nothing of them. What impression the noise of the two muskets made among the Indians they could not tell, for they were all run away before.

They were no sooner on shore, but considering they had not above two hours day, and the Indian villages were at least two miles off, they called a council, and resolved not to march so far into a country they knew so little of, and be left to come back in the dark, so they went on board again and waited till morning; however, they viewed the country, found it was a fertile soil, and a great herbage on the ground. There were a few trees near the river; but farther up where the Indian dwellings were, the little hills seemed to be covered with woods, but of what kind they knew not.

In the morning, before break of day, some of our

men fancied they heard a gun fired up the river, upon which the officer ordered two muskets to be fired again, as had been done the evening before. In about a quarter of an hour they were answered by the like firing, by which our men knew that their comrades heard them; so without pursuing their intended landing, the tide being then running upwards, they weighed and set to their oars, having little or no wind, and that which was, blowing down the stream.

After they had gone about a league they heard a confused noise at a great distance, which surprised them a little at first, but as they perceived it grew nearer and nearer they waited awhile, when they perceived first here and there some people, then more, and then about two or three hundred men and women together, running, and every one carrying something.

Whither it was they were going, or what it was they carried, we could not tell till they came nearer, when we found that they were all loaded with provisions, cocoa-nuts, roots, cabbages, and a great variety of things which we knew little of, and all these they were carrying down to our ships as we understood afterwards, in gratitude for our good usage of the two young women.

When these people saw our men and their three boats, they were at a full stop, and once or twice they were ready to lay down all their loads and run for it; but ours made signs of peace, and held up a white flag to them.

Some of them, it seems, having, as we found, conversed with our men, had a little more courage than the rest, and came to the water-side and looked

at the boats. One of our men bethought himself of a stratagem to make known to them our desire of peace with them, and taking a string of beads and some toys, he held them up at the end of the boat-hook staff and showed them to the Indians, pointing to them with his hand, and then pointing with the other hand to what the Indians carried, and to his mouth, intimating that we wanted such things to eat, and would give them the beads for them.

One of the Indians presently understood him, and throws himself into the water, holding a bundle of plants, such as he had trussed up together, upon his head, and swimming with the other hand, came so near the boat where our men held out the staff as to reach the end of the staff, take off the string of beads and toys, and hang his bunch of trash (for it was no better) upon the hook, and go back again, but would come no nearer.

When he was gotten on shore again all his comrades came about him to see what he had got; he hung the string of beads about his neck, and ran dancing about with the other things in his hand as if he had been mad.

What our men got was a trifle of less worth than a good bunch of carrots in England, but yet it was useful, as it brought the people to converse with us; for after this they brought us roots and fruits innumerable, and began to be very well acquainted with us.

By that time our men had chaffered thus four or five times, they first heard, and in a little while after saw their two great boats with their fellows coming down the river, at about two miles' distance, with their drums and trumpets, and making noise enough.

They had been, it seems, about three leagues higher up, where they had been on shore among the Indians, and had set at liberty the two maidens, for such they understood they were, who, letting their friends see how fine they were dressed, and how well they were used, the Indians were so exceedingly obliged, and showed themselves so grateful that they thought nothing too much for them; but brought out all the sorts of provisions which their country produced, which, it seems, amounted to nothing but fruits, such as plantains, cocoa-nuts, oranges, and lemons, and such things, and roots which we could give no name to; but that which was for our use was a very good sort of maize or Indian corn, which made us very good bread.

They had, it seems, some hogs and some goats, but our men got only six of the latter, which were at hand, and were very good. But that which was most remarkable was, that whereas in all the islands within the tropics the people are thievish, treacherous, fierce, and mischievous, and are armed with lances or darts, or bows and arrows, these appeared to be a peaceable, quiet, inoffensive people, nor did our men notice any weapon among them except a long staff, which most of the men carried in their hands, being made of a cane, about eight feet long, and an inch and a half diameter, much like a quarter-staff, with which they would leap over small brooks of water with admirable dexterity.

The people were black, or rather of a tawny dark brown, their hair long, but curling in very handsome rings. They went generally quite naked, both men and women, except that in two places our men said they found some of the women covered from the

middle downward. They seemed to have no conversation with the sea at all, nor did we see so much as any one boat among them; nor did any of the inhabitants dwell near the sea, but cultivated their lands very well in their way, having abundance of greens and fruits growing about their houses, and upon which we found they chiefly lived. The climate seemed to be very hot, and yet the country very fruitful.

These people, by all we could perceive, had never had any converse with the rest of the world by sea; what they might have by land we know not; but as they lay quite out of the way of all commerce, so it might be probable they never had seen a ship or boat, whether any European ship or so much as a periagua of the Islands. We have mentioned their nearest distance to the Ladrones being at least four hundred leagues, and from the Spice Islands and the country of New Guiana, much more; but as to the European shipping I never heard of any that ever went that way, neither do I believe any ever did.

I take the more notice of these people's not having conversed, as I say, with the world, because of the innocence of their behaviour, their peaceable disposition, and their way of living upon the fruits and produce of the earth; also their cultivation and the manner of their habitations; no signs of rapine or violence appearing among them. Our stay here was so little that we could make no inquiry into their religion, manner of government, and other customs; nor have I room to crowd many of these things into this account. They went indeed naked, some of them stark naked, both men and women; but I thought they differed in their countenances from all

the wild people that I ever saw; that they had something singularly honest and sincere in their faces; nor did we find anything of falsehood or treachery among them.

The gratitude they expressed for our kindly using the two young women I have mentioned was a token of generous principles; and our men told us that they would have given them whatever they could have asked if they had had it.

In a word, it was on their account they sent that little army of people to us loaded with provisions, which our men met before the two shallops came down; but all the provisions they had consisted chiefly in fruits of the earth, cocoa-nuts, plantains, oranges, lemons, &c., and maize or Indian corn. We had not any sufficient time with them to inquire after what traffic they had or whether anything fit for us. That they had several fragrant plants, and, I believe, some spices, as particularly cinnamon, that we found; but what else the country produces we know not.

We came away from hence after seven days' stay, having observed little of the country more than that it seemed to be very pleasant, but very hot. The woods were all flourishing and green, and the soil rich, but no great matter that could be the subject of trade; but an excellent place to be a bait land, or port of refreshment, in any voyage that might afterwards be undertaken that way.

We set sail, I say, from hence in seven days, and finding the coast lie fairly on our starboard side, kept the land on board all the way, distance about three leagues; and it held us thus about an hundred and twenty leagues due east: when on a sudden we lost

sight of the land; whether it broke off or whether it only drew off further south we could not tell.

We went on two or three days more, our course S.E., when we made land again, but found it to be only two small islands, lying S. and by E., distance nine leagues. We stood on to them, and two of our boats went on shore, but found nothing for our purpose; no inhabitants nor any living creatures, except sea fowls and some large snakes, neither was there any fresh water. So we called that land Cape Dismal.

The same evening we stood away full south to see if we could find out the continuance of the former land; but as we found no land, so a great sea coming from the south, we concluded we should find no land that way; and varying our course easterly, we ran with a fair, fresh gale, at N.W. and by W., for seven days more, in all which time we saw nothing but the open sea every way, and making an observation, found we had passed the Southern Tropic, and that we were in the latitude of six-and-twenty degrees and thirteen minutes, after which we continued our course still southerly for several days more, till we found by another observation that we were in two-and-thirty degrees and twenty minutes.

This evening we made land over our starboard bow, distance six leagues, and stood away south and by east; but the wind slackening, we lay by in the night, and in the morning found the land bearing east and by south, distance one league and a half, a good shore; and sounding we found about five-and-thirty fathom, stony ground. Then we hoisted our boat out and sent it on shore for discoveries, to sound the depth of the water and see for a good harbour to put in at.

They went quite in with the shore, where they found people, men and women, crowding together to look at us. When our men came close to the land they hung out a white flag, but the wild people understood nothing of the meaning of it, but stood looking and amazed; and we have great reason to believe that they never had seen any ship or bark of any nation in all their lives but their own. We found no boats or sails, or anything they had to make use of on the water; but some days after we saw several small canoes with three or four men in each.

Our men not being able to speak anything for them to understand, or to understand anything they said, the first thing they did was to make signs to them for something to eat; upon which three of them seemed to go away, and coming again in a few minutes, brought with them several bundles or bunches of roots, some plantains, and some green lemons or limes, and laid down all upon the shore. Our men took courage then to go on shore, and taking up what they brought, they set up a stick, and upon the end of it hung five bunches or strings of blue and white beads, and went on board again.

Never was such joy among a wild people discovered as these people showed when they took the beads off the stick: they danced and capered, and made a thousand antic gestures; and inviting our men on shore, laid their hands upon their breasts across and then looked up, intimating a solemn oath not to hurt us.

Our men made signs by which they made them understand that they would come again next morning, and also that they should bring us more eatables; accordingly we sent three boats the next

morning, and our men carried knives, scissors, beads, looking-glasses, combs, and any toys they had, not forgetting glass beads and glass earrings in abundance. The Indians were very ready to meet us, and brought us fruits and herbs as before; but three of them, who stood at a distance, held each of them a creature exactly like a goat, but without horns or beard, and these were brought to traffic with us.

We brought out our goods and offered every one something, but the variety was surprising to them, who had never seen such things before. But that which was most valuable of all our things was a hatchet, which one of their principal men took up and looked at it, felt of the edge, and laid it down, then took it up again and wanted to know the use of it; upon which one of our men took it, and stepping to a tree that stood near, cut off a small bough of it at one blow. The man was surprised, and ran to the tree with it to see if he could do so too; and finding the virtue of it, he laid it down, ran with all his might into the country, and by-and-by returning, came with two men more with him to show them this wonderful thing called a hatchet.

But if they were surprised with the novelty of a hatchet, our men were as much surprised to see hanging round the ears of both the men that he brought with him large flat pieces of pure gold, and the thread which they hung by was made of the hair of the goats twisted very prettily together, and strong enough.

Our men offering to handle them to see if they were gold, one of the men takes off his two bobs, or what we might call them, and offered them to our

men for the hatchet; our men seemed to make some difficulty of it, as if the hatchet was of much greater value than those trifles; upon which, he being, as we found, superior, made the other that came with him pull off his two ear-jewels also; and so our unreasonable people took them all four, being of pure gold, and weighing together some grains above two ounces, in exchange for an old rusty hatchet. Well, however unreasonable the price was, they did not think it so; and so overfond was he of the hatchet that as soon as he had it for his own he ran to the tree, and in a few minutes had so laid about him with the hatchet that there was not a twig left on it that was within his reach.

This exchange was a particular hint to me; and I presently directed my chief mate and Captain Mirlotte to go on shore the next day and acquaint themselves as much as they could with the natives, and, if possible, to find out where they had this gold and if any quantity was to be found.

They bestowed their time so well, and obliged the natives so much by the toys and trifles they gave them, that they presently told them that the gold, which they called *aarah*, was picked up in the rivers that came down from a mountain which they pointed to a great way off. Our men prevailed with three of them to go with them to one of these rivers, and gave them beads and such things to encourage them, but, by the way, no hatchet; that was kept up at a high rate and as a rarity, fit only for a king or some great man that wore *aarah* on his ears.

In a word, they came to the river where they said they found this *aarah*; and the first thing our men observed there was an Indian sitting on the ground

and beating something upon a great stone with another stone in his hand for his hammer. They went to see what he was doing, and found he had picked up a lump of gold in the sand as big as a swan-shot, of no regular shape, but full of corners, neither round or square, and the man was beating it flat as well as he could.

One of our men, who had a hatchet in his hand, made signs to him to let him flat it for him; and so, turning the back part of the hatchet, which, by the way, turned the hatchet into a hammer, he beat the piece of gold flat in an instant, and then, turning the edges, beat it that way, till he brought it to be round also.

This was so surprising to the man that was beating, that he stood looking on with all the tokens of joy and amazement; and desiring to see the hatchet, looked this way and that way upon those of his countrymen who came with us, as if asking them if ever they saw the like.

When our man had done, he made signs to know if he had any more *aarah;* the man said nothing, but went down to the brink of the river, and putting his hand into a hole, he brought out three little lumps of gold, and a great many smaller, some of them about as big as a great pin's head; all which he had laid up there in the hollow of a pretty big stone. Our man thought that it was too much to take all that for the hatchet, and therefore pulled out some beads and pieces of glass, and such toys; and, in short, bought all this cargo of gold, which in the whole weighed near five ounces, for about the value of two shillings.

Though these bargains were very agreeable to us,

yet the discovery of such a place and of such a fund of treasure in a part of the world which it is very probable was never seen before by any European eyes, nor so much as inquired after, was the greatest satisfaction imaginable to me, knowing the adventurous temper of the gentleman who was our principal employer. Upon this account, while my men busied themselves in their daily search after gold, and in finding out the rivers from whence it came, or rather where it was found, I employed myself to be fully informed where this place was, whether it was an island or a continent; and having found a tolerable good road for our ships to ride in, I caused my two shallops, well manned, to run along the coast both east and west, to find which way it lay, and whether they could find any end of it; as also to see what rivers, what people, and what provisions they could meet with.

By my observation I found, as above, that we were in the latitude of seven-and-twenty degrees and thirteen minutes south meridian; distance from the Ladrones about sixteen degrees east. While my shallops were gone I went on shore, and some of my men set up tents on shore, as well for the convenience of their traffic as for their resting on shore all night, keeping, however, a good guard, and having two of our ship-dogs with them, who never failed giving them notice whenever any of the natives came near them; for what ailed the dogs I know not, but neither of them could bear the sight of the Indians, and we had much to do to keep them from flying at them.

While we rode here we had the most violent storm of wind, with rain and with great claps of thunder,

that we had yet sustained since we came out of England. It was our comfort that the wind came off shore, for it blew at south, and shifting between the S.S.E. and S.W. with such excessive gusts, and so furious, and withal not only by squalls and sudden flaws, but a settled terrible tempest, that had it been from off sea as it was off shore, we must have perished, there had been no remedy; and even as it was we rode in great danger. My boatswain called twice out to me to cut my masts by the board, protesting we should either bring our anchors home or founder as we rode; and indeed the sea broke over us many times in a terrible manner. As I said before, we had an indifferent good road, and so we had, but not a very good one, for the land was low, and on the east we lay a little open; however, our ground tackle was good and our ship very tight, and I told the boatswain I would rather slip the cable and go off to sea than cut the masts. However, in about four hours' time more we found the wind abate, but it blew very hard for three days after that.

I was in great pain for my two shallops in this tempest, but they had both the good luck to lie close under the shore; and one indeed had hauled quite upon the land, where the men lay on shore under their sail, so that they got no damage; and about three days after one of them returned and brought me word they had been to the west, where they had made very little discovery as to the situation of the country, and whether it was an island or a continent; but they had conversed with the natives very often, and had found several that had pieces of gold hanging, some in their hair, some about their necks; and they made a shift to bring as many with them as

weighed, all put together, as seventeen or eighteen ounces, for which they had bartered toys and trifles as we did; but they found no rivers where they could discover any gold in the sands as we had done, so that they believed it all came from that side where we were.

But our other shallop had much better luck: she went away to the east, and by the time she had gone about sixteen leagues she found the shore break off a little, and soon after a little more, till at length they came, as it were, to the land's end; when the shore running due south, they followed, according to their account, near thirteen leagues more.

In this time they went several times on shore, entered three rivers indifferently large, and one of them very large at the mouth, but grew narrow again in three or four leagues, but a deep channel, with two-and-twenty to eight-and-twenty fathom water in it all the way as far as they went.

Here they went on shore and trafficked with the natives, whom they found rude and unpolished, but a very mild, inoffensive people; nor did they find them anything thievish, much less treacherous, as in some such countries is the case. They had the good luck to find out the place where, as they supposed, the king of the country resided, which was a kind of a city encompassed with a river almost all round, the river making a kind of double horseshoe. The manner of their living is too long to describe, neither could our men give any account of their government or of the customs of the place; but what they sought for was gold and provisions, and of that they got pretty considerable.

They found the Indians terribly surprised at the first sight of them, but after some time they found

means to let them know they desired a truce and to make them understand what they meant by it.

At length a truce being established, the king came, and with him near three hundred men; and soon after the queen with half as many women. They were not stark naked, neither men or women, but wearing a loose piece of cloth about their middles. What it was made of we could not imagine, for it was neither linen or woollen, cotton or silk; nor was it woven, but twisted and braided by hand, as our women make bone lace with bobbins. It seems it was the stalk of an herb which this was made with, and was so strong that I doubt not it would have made cables for our ships if we had wanted to make such an experiment.

When the king first came to our men they were a little shy of his company, he had so many with him, and they began to retire; which the king perceiving, he caused all his men to stop and keep at a distance, and advanced himself with about ten or twelve of his men, and no more.

When he was come quite up, our men, to show their breeding, pulled off their hats, but that he did not understand, for his men had no hats on; but the officer making a bow to him, he understood that presently, and bowed again, at which all his men fell down flat upon their faces, as flat to the ground as if they had been shot to death with a volley of our shot, and they did not fall so quick but they were up again as nimbly, and then down flat on the ground again; and this they did three times, their king bowing himself to our men at the same time.

This ceremony being over, our men made signs to them that they wanted victuals to eat and something

to drink, and pulled out several things to let the people see they would give something for what they might bring them.

The king understood them presently, and turning to some of his men he talked awhile to them, and our men observed that while he spoke they seemed to be terrified as if he had been threatening them with death. However, as soon as he had done, three of them went away, and our men supposed they went to fetch something that the king would give them; upon which, that they might be beforehand with them, our men presented his majesty with two pair of bracelets of fine glass beads of several colours, and put them upon his arms, which he took most kindly; and then they gave him a knife with a good plain ivory handle, and some other odd things. Upon receiving these noble presents, he sends away another of his men, and a little after two more.

Our men observed that two of the men went a great way off towards the hill; but the other man that he sent away first went to his queen, who with her retinue of tawny ladies stood but a little way off, and soon after her majesty came with four women only attending her.

The officer who commanded our men finding he should have another kind of compliment to pay the ladies, retired a little; and being an ingenious, handy sort of a man, in less than half-an-hour he and another of his men made a nice garland, or rather a coronet of sundry strings of beads, and with glass bobs and pendants all hanging about it most wonderful gay; and when the queen was come, he went up to the king, and showing it to him, made signs that he would give it to the queen.

The king took it, but was so pleased with it that truly he desired our officer to put it upon his own head, which he did; but when he had got it upon his own head he made bold to let our men see he was king over his wife as well as over the rest of the country, and that he would wear it himself.

With that our man pulled out a little pocket looking-glass, and holding it up he let his majesty see his own face, which we might reasonably suppose he had never seen before, especially not with a crown on his head too. That till that looking-glass came and he saw his own face, he was grave and majestic, and carried it something like a king; but he was so ravished with this that he was quite beside himself, and jumped and capered, and danced about like a madman.

All this while our men saw nothing coming, but that all was given on their side; whereupon they made signs again that they wanted provisions. He made signs again, pointing to a hill a good way off, as if it would come from thence very quickly, and then looked to see if they were coming, as if he was impatient till they came as well as our people.

During this time one of our men observed that the queen had several pieces of gold, as they thought them to be, hanging about her, as particularly in her hair, and large flat plaits of gold upon the hinder part of her head, something in the place of a roll as our women wear; that her hair was wound about it in rolls braided together very curiously; and having informed our officer, he made signs to the king for leave to give the queen something, which he consented to. So he went to her majesty, making a bow as before; but this complaisance surprised her, for upon

his bowing himself, on a sudden falls the queen and all her four ladies flat on the ground, but were up again in a moment; and our people wondered how they could throw themselves so flat on their faces and not hurt themselves; nor was it less to be wondered at how they could so suddenly jump up again, for they did not rise up gradually as we must do, with the help of our hands and knees, if we were extended so flat on our faces, but they with a spring, whether with their hands or their whole bodies we know not, jumped up all at once and were upon their feet immediately.

This compliment over, our officer stepped up to the queen and ties about her neck a most delicate necklace of pearl, that is to say, of large, handsome white glass beads, which might in England cost about fourpence-halfpenny, and to every one of her ladies he gave another of smaller beads and different colours than those which he gave the queen. Then he presented her majesty with a long string of glass beads which being put over her head, reached down to her waist before, and joined in a kind of a tassel, with a little knot of blue ribbon, which she was also extremely pleased with; and very fine she was.

The queen made, it seems, the first return, for stepping to one of her women, our men observed that she took something out of her hair, and she let her tie her hair up again; after which she brought it and gave it to our officer, making signs to know if it was acceptable. It was a piece of gold that weighed about two ounces and a half; it had been beaten as flat as they knew how to beat it; but the metal was of much more beauty to our men than the shape.

Our officer soon let them see that he accepted the present, by laying it to his mouth and to his breast, which he found was the way when they liked anything. In short, our officer goes to work again, and in a little while he makes a little coronet for the queen, as he had done before, though less, and without asking leave of the king went up to her and put it upon her head, and then gave her a little looking-glass as he had done to the king, to look at herself.

She was so surprised with this that she knew not what to do with herself; but to show her gratitude she pulled out another plate of gold out of her own hair and gave it to our officer; and not content with that, she sent one of her women to the crowd of women that first attended her, and whether she stripped them of all the gold they had we know not, but she brought so many pieces, that when our men had them (for she gave all to them) they weighed almost two pounds weight.

But this was not all; when she was thus dressed up she stepped forward, very nimbly and gracefully, towards the king to show him what she had got; and finding the king dressed up as fine as herself, they had work enough for near two hours to look at one another and admire their new ornaments.

Our men reported that the king was a tall, well-shaped man of a very majestic deportment, only that when he laughed he showed his teeth too much, which, however, were as white as ivory. As for the queen, saving that her skin was of a tawny colour, she was a very pretty woman; very tall, a sweet countenance, admirable features, and in a word, a completely handsome lady.

She was very oddly dressed; she was quite naked

from her head to below her breasts. Her breasts were plump and round, not flaggy and hanging down, as it is general with all the Indian women, some of whose breasts hang as low as their bellies, but sitting as beautifully up as if they had been laced up with stays round her body; and below her breast she had a broad piece of a skin of some curious creature, spotted like a leopard, or rather, as I believe it was, some fine spotted deer. This was wrapped round her very tight like a body-girth to a horse; and under this she had a kind of petticoat, as before described, hanging down to her ankles. As for shoes or stockings, they were only such as nature had furnished. Her hair was black, and, as they supposed, very long, being wreathed up, twisted in long locks about the plate of gold she wore; and when she pulled off the plate of gold as above, it hung down her back and upon her shoulders gracefully enough; but it seems she did not think so, for as soon as she found it so fallen down she caused one of her women to roll it all up and tie it in a great knot, which hung down in her neck, and did not look so well as when it was loose.

While the king and the queen were conversing together about their fine things as above, our men went back to their boat where they left the purchase they had got, and furnished themselves with other things fit to traffic with as they saw occasion; and they were not quite come up to the king again, when they perceived that the men the king had sent up into the country were returned, and that they brought with them a great quantity of such provisions as they had, which chiefly consisted in roots and maize, or Indian corn, and several fruits which we had never

seen before: some of them resembled the large European figs, but were not really figs; with some great jars of water having herbs steeped in it, and roots that made it look as white as milk, and drank like milk sweetened with sugar, but more delicious, and exceedingly cool and refreshing. They brought also a great quantity of oranges, but they were neither sweet nor sour, and our men believed they were not ripe; but when they were dressed after the manner of the country, which they showed our men how to do, that is to say, to roast them in the fire, they eat admirably well, and our men brought a great many away to us, and when we roasted them they exceeded all that ever I tasted.

After our men had received what they brought, and shown that they were acceptable to them, the king made signs that he would be gone, but would come again to them the next morning, and pointing to the queen's head, where the plate of gold had been that she gave to our men, intimated that he would bring some of that with him the next day; but while he was making these signs one of his other messengers came back and gave the king something into his hand, wrapped up, which our men could not see. As soon as the king had it, as if he had been proud to show our men that he could make himself and his queen as fine as they could make them, he pulled it out, and first put it on his queen (a short thing like a robe) which reached from her neck, for he put it over her head, only down to the spotted skin which she wore before, and so it covered her shoulders and breast. It was made of an infinite number and variety of feathers, oddly and yet very curiously put together, and was spangled, as we may call it, all over,

with little drops or lumps of gold, some no bigger than a pin's head, which had holes made through them and were strung six or seven together, and so tied on to the feathers; some as big as a large pea, hanging single, some as big as a horse bean, and beaten flat, and all hanging promiscuously among the feathers without any order or shape; which, notwithstanding, were very beautiful in the whole, and made the thing look rich and handsome enough.

As soon as he had thus equipped his queen, he put the other one upon himself, which, as it was larger, so it had a particular in its shape, namely, that it covered his arms almost to his elbows, and was so made that it came round under the arm, and being fastened there with a string, made a kind of sleeve.

As the king's robe, or whatever it may be called, was larger (for it came down to his waist), so it had a great deal more gold about it, and larger pieces than what the queen wore. When their majesties had thus put on their robes, you may guess how glorious they looked, but especially the queen, who being a most charming, beautiful creature before, was much more so when she glittered thus all with gold. Our men looked very narrowly to observe whether there were no diamonds, and particularly whether any pearl was among their finery, but they could not perceive any.

In this manner they parted for that evening; but the people did not leave them so, for they thronged about them, and some brought them jars of the white liquor, some brought them roots, some fruits, some one thing and some another; and our men gave every one of them some small matter or other in proportion to what they brought. At last there came four par-

ticularly tall lusty men, with bows and arrows, but before they came close up to our men they laid down their bows and arrows on the ground, and came forward with all the tokens of friendship they were able to make.

They had two youths with them, each of which led a tame fawn of pretty large growth, and when the men came up they gave the two fawns to our men, who, in return, gave each of them a knife and some strings of beads, and such toys as they had.

Our men observed that all these men had little bits of gold, some of one shape and some of another, hanging at their ears; and when our men came to be familiar they asked them as well as they could where they found that stuff, and they made signs to the sand in the river, and then pointed towards that part of the country where our ships lay, which signified to our men that the gold was most of it where we lay, not there where the king and queen resided. Nay, when our men pointed again to the river where they were, and went and took up some of the sand as if they would look for gold in it, they made signs of laughing at it, and that there was nothing to be found there, but that it lay all the other way.

And yet two or three of the men, who, when the tide was out, went up the bank of the river two or three miles upon the sands, peeping and trying the sands as they went, found three or four little bits of pure gold in the sand, though not bigger than pins' heads; but no doubt, farther up the country, they might have found more.

These four men, seeing how fond our people were of the gold, made signs that they could fetch gold

for them if they would give them such things as they liked; and ours again told them they should have anything they pleased, and as earnest gave them pieces of iron and bits of glass of small value, both of which they were much delighted with beforehand.

Early in the morning their four customers came again, and brought several men who seemed to be servants along with them, laden with refreshments such as the white water mentioned above, which they brought in earthen pots, very hard, but made so by the sun, not by any fire. They brought also three small deer with them, and a kind of coney or rabbit, but larger, which our men were very glad of. But that which was above all the rest, they brought a good quantity of gold dust, that is to say, some in small lumps, some in bigger, and one of them had nearly a pound weight wrapped up in a piece of coney skin, which was all so very small that it was like dust, which, as our men understood afterwards, was reckoned of little worth, because all the bigger lumps had been picked out of it.

Our men, you may be sure, were very willing to trade for this commodity, and therefore they brought out a great variety of things to truck with them, making signs to them to pick out what they liked, but still keeping a reserve for the king and queen, whom they expected. Above all, they had made a reserve for the king of some extraordinary hatchets, which they had not yet suffered to be seen, with a hammer or two, and some drinking-glasses and the like, with some particular toys for the queen.

But they had variety enough besides this for the four men, who, in short, bought so many trinkets

and trifles, that our men not only got all the gold they brought, but the very pieces of gold out of their ears; in return for which our men gave every one of them a pair of earrings to hang about their ears, with a fine drop, some of green glass, some red, some blue, and they were wonderfully pleased with the exchange, and went back, we may venture to say, much richer than they came.

As soon as these had finished their market, and indeed a little before, they perceived at a distance the king and the queen coming with a great retinue, so they made signs to our men that they must be gone, and that they would not have the king know that they had been there.

I must confess, the relation of all this made me very much repent that I had not happened to have put in there with the ships; though, indeed, as the road lay open to the east and south winds, it might have been worse another way, I mean when the storm blew. However, as it is, I must report this part from the account given us by my men.

When the king and queen came the second time they came together, and dressed up, as our men supposed, with the utmost magnificence, having the fine feathered spangled things about their shoulders, and the king had over all his habit a fine spotted robe of deer skins neatly joined together, and which, as he managed it, covered him from head to foot; and, in short, it was so very beautiful that he really looked like a king with it.

When he came to our men and the ceremony of their meeting was over, the king, turning round, showed them that he had brought them stores of provisions, and indeed so he had, for he had at least

fifty men attending him, laden with roots, and oranges, and maize, and such things; in short, he brought them above twenty thousand oranges, a great parcel of that fruit like a fig which I mentioned above, and other fruits; after which another party followed, and brought twenty live deer, and as many of their rabbits dead; the latter as big as our hares.

As they came up the king made signs to our men to take them; and our officer making signs to thank his majesty, he orders one of the attendants to give him one of the feathered robes, such an one as the king himself had on, and made mighty fine with lumps and tassels of gold as the other; and the tawny lass, advancing to him, offered to put it over his head, but he took it in his hand and put it on himself, and looked as like a jack-pudding in it as any one could desire, for it made no figure at all upon him compared to what it did upon the Indians.

When they had received all this they could not but make a suitable return; and therefore our officer caused his reserve to be brought out; and first he gave his majesty a dozen very handsome drinking-glasses, of several sizes, with half-a-dozen glass beakers or cups to the queen, for the same use. Then he gave the king a little hanger, and a belt to wear by his side, and showed him how to buckle it on and take it off, and how to draw it out and put it in again.

This was such a present, and the king was so delighted with it, that our officer said he believed the king, for two hours together, did nothing but draw it and put it up again, put it on and pull it off, and the like.

Besides this he gave the king three hatchets, and showed them the uses of them; also two hammers and a pair of very large shears, particularly showing him that with those hammers they might beat out the gold lumps which they found in the rivers, and with the shears might cut the edges round or into what shape they pleased when they were beaten thin.

To the queen he gave six little knives and a dozen small looking-glasses for her ladies; six pair of scissors and a small box full of large needles; he then gave her some coarse brown thread, and showed her how to thread the needle, and sew anything together with the thread; all which she admired exceedingly, and called her tawny maids of honour about her that they might learn also. And whilst they were standing all together, our officer (to make the king laugh) sewed two of her women to one another by the lap of their waistcoats, or what else it might be called; and when they were a little surprised at it, and began (as he thought) to be a little uneasy, he took the scissors, and at one snap set them at liberty again; which passed for such an extraordinary piece of dexterity that the king would needs have two of them sewed together again, on purpose to see it cut again; and then the king desired he might have a needle and thread himself and a pair of scissors; then he would sew some things together and cut them asunder again several times, and laugh most heartily at the ingenuity of it.

Besides these things, they gave her majesty a pair of earrings to hang on her ears, the glass in them looking green like an emerald; a ring of silver with false stones in it, like a rose diamond ring, the middle

stone red like a ruby, which she went presently and gave to the king; but our officer made signs that he had one that was bigger for the king, and accordingly gave the king one that was much larger. And now they had done giving presents, as they thought, when the king made a sign to the queen which she understood, and calling one of her women, she brought a small parcel, which the queen gave our officer into his hand, wherein was about eleven pounds weight of gold dust, but, as before, no big lumps in it.

Our men having thus finished their traffic, and being about to come away, they made signs to the king that they would come again and bring him more fine things; at which the king smiles, and pointed to the gold as if telling them he would have more of that for them when they came again.

Our men had now their expectations fully answered, and, as I said, had ended their traffic, and taking leave of the king and all his retinue, retired to their shallop, the king and queen going away to their city as above; the wind blowing northerly, they were seven days before they got down to us in the ship, during which time they had almost famished the deer they had left, five of which they had kept to bring us alive, and yet they went two or three times on shore to get food for them by the way.

We were all glad to see them again, and I had a great deal of reason to be satisfied with the account of their traffic, though not so much with their discovery; for they were not able to give us the least account whether the land was a continent or an island.

But let that be how it will, 't is certainly a country yet unfrequented by any of the Christian part of

mankind, and perhaps may ever be so, and yet may be as rich as any other part of the world yet discovered. The mountains in most of the islands, as well as of the mainland in those parts, abounding in gold or silver, and no question, as well worth searching after as the coast of Guinea, where, though the quantity they find is considerable, yet it is at this time sought after by so many, and the negroes taught so well how to value it, that but a little is brought away at a time, and so much given for it, that, computing the charge of the voyage, is oftentimes more than it is worth.

Whereas, though it is true that what gold is found here is a great way off, yet I am persuaded such quantities are to be had, and the price given for it so very trifling, that it would be well worth searching for.

I reckon that including the gold our shallop brought, and what we got on shore where we lay, we brought away about twenty-four pound weight of gold, the expense of which we could not value at above ten or eleven pounds in England, put it all together, and reckoning for all the provisions we got there, which supplied us for twenty days after we came away.

For while our shallop was making her visit thus to the royal family, &c., as is related, our men were not idle on shore, but partly by trade with the natives, and by washing the sands in the small rivers, we got such a quantity of gold as well satisfied us for the stay we made.

We had been about eighteen days here when our shallop returned, and we stayed a week more trafficking with the people; and I am persuaded if we had a mind to have settled there, and stayed till now, we

should have been very welcome to the people. We saw neither horse or cow, mule, ass, dog or cat, or any of our European sort of creatures (except that our men shot some wild ducks and wigeon, exactly the same which we see in England, and very fat and good, but much easier to shoot than in England, having never been acquainted with the flash and noise of guns as ours have been). We also found a sort of partridge in the country, not much unlike our own, and a great many of the whistling plover the same with ours.

Though this month's stay was unexpected, yet we had no reason to think our time ill spent. However, we did not think we ought to lie here too long, whatever we got; so we weighed and stood off to sea, steering still S.E., keeping the shore of this golden country in sight, till our men told us they found the land fall off to the south; then we steered away more southerly for six or eight days, not losing sight of land all the time, till by an observation we found we were in the latitude of thirty-four degrees and a half south of the line; our meridian distance from the Ladrones, twenty-two degrees, thirty minutes east; when a fresh gale of wind springing up at south and by east, obliged us to haul close for that evening; at night it blew such a storm that we were obliged to yield to the force of it, and go away afore it to the N. or N. by W., till we came to that point of land we passed before; here, the land tending to the west, we ran in under the lee of a steep shore, and came to an anchor in twenty-five fathom water, being the same country we were in before. Here we rode very safe for five days, the wind continuing to blow very hard all the time from the south-east.

My men would fain have had me gone ashore again and traffic with the people for more gold; but I, who was still in quest of farther discoveries, thought I knew enough of this place to tempt my friend the merchant, whose favourite design was that of making new discoveries, to another voyage there, and that was enough for me; so I declined going on shore again, except that we sent our boats for a recruit of fresh water; and our men, while they were filling it, shot a brace of deer as they were feeding by the side of a swamp or moist ground; and also some wild ducks. Here we set up a great wooden cross, and wrote on it the names of our ships and commanders, and the time that we came to an anchor there.

But we were obliged to a farther discovery of this country than we intended, by the following accident: —We had unmoored early in the morning, and by eight o'clock were under sail; by ten we had doubled the point I mentioned above, and stood away S., keeping the shore on board at the distance of about two leagues west.

The next day the officer who had been with the shallop showed us the opening or mouth where he put in, and where he had made his traffic with the king of the country, as you have heard.

We went on for two days more, and still we found the land extending itself south, till the third day in the morning we were a little surprised to find ourselves as it were embayed, being in the bottom of a deep gulf, and the land appearing right ahead, distance about three leagues, the coast having turned away to the east and by south, very high land and mountainous, and the tops of some of the hills covered with snow.

Our second mate and the boatswain upon this discovery were for coming about, and sent to me for orders to make signals to the other ship and our brigantine, who were both ahead, to do the like; but I, who was willing to acquaint myself as fully as I could with the coast of the country, which I made no question I should have occasion to come to again, said "No, no, I will see a little farther first." So I run on, having an easy gale at N.E., and good weather, till I came within about a league and a half of the shore, when I found that in the very bight or nook of the bay there was a great inlet of water, which either must be a passage or strait between the land we had been on shore upon, which in that case must be a great island; or that it must be the mouth of some extraordinary great river.

This was a discovery too great to be omitted, so I ordered the brigantine to stand in with an easy sail and see what account could be had of the place. Accordingly they stood in, and we followed about a league, and then lay by waiting their signals. I had particularly ordered them to keep two boats ahead to sound the depth all the way, and they did so; and how it happened we know not, but on a sudden we heard the sloop fire two guns first, and then one gun; the first was a signal to us to bring to and come no farther, the next was a signal of distress. We immediately tacked to stand off, but found a strong current setting directly into the bight, and there not being wind enough for us to stem the current, we let go our anchor in twenty-two fathom water.

Immediately we manned out all the boats we had, great and small, to go and assist our brigantine, not knowing what distress she might be in; and they

found she had driven up, as we were like to have done, too far into the channel of a large river, the mouth of which, being very broad, had several shoals in it; and though she had dropped her anchor just upon notice which the boats who were sounding gave her, yet she tailed aground upon a sand and stuck fast. Our men made no doubt but she would be lost, and began to think of saving the provisions and ammunition out of her. The two long-boats accordingly began to lighten her; and first they took in her guns and let out all her casks of water; then they began to take in her great shot and the heavy goods. But by this time they found their mistake, for the current which I mentioned was nothing but a strong tide of flood, which, the indraught of the river being very great, ran up with a very great force; and in something less than an hour the brigantine floated again.

However, she stuck so long upon the sand, and the force of the current or tide was so great, that she received considerable damage, and had a great deal of water in her hold. I immediately ordered our boats to row to the land on both sides, to see if they could find a good place to lay her on shore in; they did so, and found a very convenient harbour in the mouth of a small river which emptied itself into the great river about two leagues within the foreland of it, on the north side, as the river Medway runs into the Thames within the mouth of it, on the south side, only this was not so far up.

Here they ran in the sloop immediately, and the next day we came thither also; our boats having sounded the whole breadth of the main river, and found a very good channel half a league broad,

having from seventeen to four-and-twenty fathom water all the way, and very good riding.

Here we found it absolutely necessary to take everything out of the brigantine to search her bottom; for her lying on shore had strained her seams and broke one of her floor timbers; and having hands enough, our men unloaded her in a very little time, and making a little dock for her, mended all the damage in about ten days' time. But seeing her in so good a condition and the place so convenient, I resolved to have her whole bottom new caulked and payed; so we made her as clean as she was when she first came off the stocks.

This I took for a good opportunity to careen and clean our other ships too, for we had done little to them since we came from Madagascar. We found our Madagascar ship much worm-eaten in her sheathing, which we helped as well as we could by new nailing, and by taking out some pieces of her sheathing and putting new ones in. But as to our great ship, she was sheathed with lead, and so had received no damage at all, only that she was very foul, which we remedied by scraping and cleaning and new graving her quite over.

We were not all employed in this work, and therefore we had leisure to make the best of our time for the main work of new discoveries. And now I resolved to leave it no more to under-officers as I had done before, viz., when I gave the command of the shallop that traded with the king and queen, as above, to a midshipman, which I was very sorry for, though the fellow did his business very well too; but, I say, I resolved not to trust any one now but myself.

In the first place, I took the shallops and went across the mouth of the great river to the south shore, to see what kind of a country was to be found there. For, as to the north side where we were, we found it to be much the same with that part where we had been before; only that we found no gold, nor did we perceive that the people had any.

I found the mouth of this river or inlet to be about four leagues over where I crossed it, which was about three leagues and a half within the inlet itself. But the weather being very calm and the flood-tide running sharp, we let our boat drive up in our crossing about two leagues more; and we found the channel grew narrow so fast, that where we came to land it was not a league over; that about three leagues farther we found it a mere river, not above as broad as the Thames at Blackwall.

We found it a steep shore, and observing a little creek very convenient for our purpose, we ran in our boats among some flags or rushes, and laid them as soft and as safe as if they had been in a dock; we went all on shore immediately, except two men in each boat left to guard our provisions.

We had for arms, every man a musket, a pistol, and a cutlass; and in each boat we had six half-pikes to use as we might have occasion. We had also every man a hatchet, hung in a little frog at his belt, and in each boat a broad-axe and a saw. We were furnished with strings of beads, bits of glass, glass rings, earrings, pearl necklaces, and such like jewellery ware, innumerable; besides knives, scissors, needles, pins, looking-glasses, drinking-glasses, and toys a great store.

We were no sooner on shore but we found people

in abundance, for there were two or three small towns within a little way of the shore; and I suppose we might have the more people about us, because, as we understood afterwards, they had seen us before, though we had not seen them.

We made signs to them by putting our fingers to our mouths, and moving our chops, as if we were eating, that we wanted provisions; and we hung up a white flag for a truce. They presently understood the first signal, but knew nothing of the last; and as to provisions, just as had been the case before, they brought us out roots and fruits such as they eat themselves, but such as we had never seen before. Some of them, however, were very sweet and good, and when we boiled them they ate much like an English parsnip; and we gave them strings of beads, pieces of glass, and such things as we found they were always very fond of.

We found the people, as I observed of the other, very inoffensive and sincere; not quarrelsome, nor treacherous or mischievous in the least; and we took care not so much as to let them know the use or manner of our firearms a great while; neither was there one piece fired all the time we were among the other people, where we had so much gold. If there had, it had been very probable that they would have fled the country, in spite of all the good usage we could have been able to have shown them.

The people where we were now were not so rich in gold as those where we were before, but we found them much better stored with provisions; for besides deer, of which they had great plenty and variety (for they had some of a sort, which I had never seen before), and besides an infinite number of those rabbits

which I mentioned before, which were as big as our hares, and which do not burrow in the ground as our conies do, they had a kind of sheep, large (like those of Peru, where they are used to carry burdens) and very good. They have no wool nor horns, but are rather hairy, like a goat; nor should I call them sheep, but that their flesh eats like mutton; and I know not what else to call them. The natives call them huttash; but what breed, or from what part of the world, or whether created for a peculiar purpose to this part, I know not.

However, their flesh was very agreeable, and they were fat and good; and as the Indians were mightily pleased with the price we paid them, and the goods we paid them in, they brought us more of these huttashes than we knew what to do with; and as I can calculate the rate, I suppose we might have them for about eightpence, or sometimes not above sixpence cost each; for they would give us one very thankfully for a string or two of small beads, and think themselves mighty well paid.

I found them so plentiful and so easy to come at, that, in short, I sent fifty of them alive, tied neck and heels, in one of the shallops back to our ships, and ordered them to send their long-boats over for more; for though it was so little a way over, we did not find they had any of them on that side the river.

We did the Indians another piece of service, for if they gave us meat we taught them to be cooks; for we showed them how to roast it upon a stick or spit before the fire, whereas they ate all their meat before either stewed in earthen pots over the fire, with herbs, such as we did not understand, or thrown

on the coals of green wood into the fire, which, by the way, always made it stink of the smoke most intolerably.

We had a great deal of opportunity now to converse with the people on both sides of the river, and we found them to be not only different nations, but of a differing speech and differing customs. These on the south side, where I now was, seemed to be the best furnished with provisions, and to live in the greatest plenty; but those on the north side appeared better clothed, and a more civilised sort of people; and of the two seemed to have, in their countenances, something the more agreeable.

However, as they were near neighbours, for the river only parted them, they were not very much unlike neither. That which seemed most strange to me was, that we found that they had little knowledge or communication with one another. They had indeed some boats in the river, but they were but small, and rather served to just waft them over, or to fish in them, than for any carriage, for we found none that could carry above four men, and these very oddly made; partly as a canoe, by hollowing a tree, and partly by skins of beasts, dried and stuck on so as they made waste clothes to the other, yet they would paddle along at a great rate with them.

For want of understanding their language I could come at no knowledge of their religion or worship; nor did I see any idols among them or any worshipping of the sun or moon. But yet, as a confirmation that all nations, however barbarous, have some notion of a God, and some awe of a superior power, so I observed here, that being making a bargain with one of the principal men, such I perceived him to be

by the respect the rest showed him; I say, being making a bargain with him as well as could be done between people that understood not one word of what either of us said, he had made signs to bring me twelve sheep the next morning for some things that I was to deliver him of mine. I am sure the goods were not all of them of value sufficient to give me the least distrust, but when I gave him the goods without the sheep, being, as I said, to trust him till the next day, he called two men to him, and pointing to the goods that I had put into his hands, he tells upon his fingers twelve, letting them know (as I suppose) that he was to give me twelve sheep the next day. So far it seems they were to be witnesses of the agreement. Then he places his two hands one upon each breast, turned very accurately with the fingers towards the face, and holding them there, he looks towards heaven, with his face turned upward, and with the most gravity, seriousness, and solemnity in his countenance that ever I saw in any man's face in my life. When he had continued in this posture about a quarter of a minute, he takes the two men and puts them just in the same posture; and then points to me and then to himself, by which I understood first, that he solemnly swore to me that he would bring the sheep punctually and faithfully to me, and then he brought the two men to be bail or security for the performance; that is to say, to oblige themselves to perform it if he did not.

Doubtless those people who have any notion of a God must represent Him to themselves as something superior, and something that sees and hears and knows what they say or do. Whether these people meant the sun or the moon, or the stars, or what

else, I do not determine for them, but it is visible they understood it to be something to swear by — something that could bear witness of their engagement, and that being called to witness of it, could resent the breach of promise. As to those whose gods are monsters and hideous shapes, frightful images and terrible figures, the motive of their adoration being that of mere terror, they have certainly gross ideas. But these people seem to act upon a more solid foundation, paying their reverence in manner much more rational, and to something which it was much more reasonable to worship; this appeared in the solemnity of their countenances and their behaviour in making a solemn promise.

We found those people clothed, generally speaking, over their whole bodies, their heads, arms, legs, and feet excepted, but not so agreeably as those we mentioned above; and we found that the clothing of these were generally the skins of beasts, but very artfully put together, so that though they had neither needle nor thread, yet they had the same plant as I mentioned before, the stalk of which would so strongly tie like a thread, that they peeled it off thicker or finer as they had occasion, and made use of it in abundance of ways, to tie, and twist, and make their clothes with it, as well for their occasion as if it had been woven in a loom.

We found several of these people had little bits of gold about them; but when we made signs to them to know where they got it and where it might be had, they made signs again, pointing to the country on the north side of the river, so that we had, it seems, chopped upon the right gold coast in our first coming. They pointed indeed, likewise, to some very

high mountains which we saw at a great distance S.W., so that it seems as if there was gold found that way also, but it seems the people here had not much for their share.

The men here had bows and arrows, and they used them so dexterously that, a wild goose flying over our heads, one of the Indians shot it quite through with an arrow. One of our men was so provoked to see them, as it were, outdo him, that some time after seeing a couple of ducks flying fair for a mark, he presented his piece and shot them both flying.

I was very angry when I heard the gun; had I been there he had never got leave to shoot. However, when it was done, I was pleased well enough to see the effect it had upon these poor innocent well-meaning people: at first it frighted them to the last degree, and I may well say it frighted them out of their wits, for they that were near it started so violently that they fell down and lay speechless for some time; those that were farther off ran away as if it had been some new kind of lightning and thunder, and came out of the earth instead of out of the clouds; but when they saw the two creatures fall down dead out of the air, and could see nothing that flew up to them to kill them, they were perfectly astonished, and laid their two hands on their breasts and looked up to heaven as if they were saying their prayers in the most solemn manner imaginable. However, this accident gave them terrible ideas of us, and I was afraid at first they would run all away from us for fear; I therefore used them after it with all the kindness and tenderness imaginable, gave them every day one trifle or other which, though of no value to me, they were

exceedingly fond of, and we asked nothing of them but provisions, of which they had great plenty, and gave us enough every day to satisfy us. As for drink, they had none of the milky liquor which we had on the other part of the country, but they had a root which they steeped in their water and made it drink hot as if pepper had been in it, which made it so strong, that though it would not make our men drunk, it was worse, for it made them mad.

I was so pleased with these people that I came over to them every other day, and some of our men lay on shore under a sail pitched for a tent, and they were so safe that at last they kept no watch, for the poor people neither thought any harm or did any, and we never gave them the least occasion to apprehend anything from us, at least not till our man fired the gun, and that only let them know we were able to hurt them, not giving them the least suspicion that we intended it: on the contrary, one of our men played an odd prank with them, and fully satisfied them that we would do them no harm. This man having seen one of their children, a little laughing speechless creature of about two years old, the mother having gone from it a little way on some particular occasion, the fellow took it and led it home to the tent and kept it there all night. The next morning he dressed it up with beads and jewels wondrous fine, a necklace about its neck, and bracelets of beads about its wrists, and several strings of beads wrapped up and tied in its hair, having fed it and laid it to sleep, and made much of it all night. In this figure he carried it up in his arms to the Indian huts or houses where he had found it, and where there had been, it seems, a great outcry for the child all the night, the mother crying

and raising her neighbours and in a most strange concern.

But when some of the women, her neighbours, saw the child brought back, there was a contrary extreme of joy, and the mother of it being, I suppose, fetched, she fell a-jumping and dancing to see her child, but also making so many odd gestures, as our men could not well tell for awhile whether she was pleased or not. The reason, it seems, was, she did not know whether to hope or fear, for she did not know whether the man would give back her child or take it away again. But when the man who had the child in his arms, had been told by signs that this was the mother, he beckoned to have her come to him, and she came, but trembling for fear. Then he took the child, and kissing it two or three times he gave it into her arms. But it is impossible to express by words the agony the poor woman was in; she took the child, and holding it in her arms, fixed her eyes upon it without motion, or as it were without life, for a good while, then she took it and embraced it in the most passionate manner imaginable. When this was over, she fell a-crying so vehemently till she sobbed, and all this while spoke not one word. When the crying had given sufficient vent to her passion, then she fell a-dancing, and making a strange odd noise that we cannot describe; and at last she leaves the child and comes back to the place where our men were and to the man that brought her the child, and as soon as she came up to him she fell flat on the ground, as I have described above the queen and her women did, and up again immediately, and thus she did three times, which it seems was her acknowledgment to him for bringing it back.

The next day, for her gratitude did not end here, she came down to our tent and brought with her two sheep, with a great back-burthen of roots, of the kind which I said they steeped in the water, and several fruits of the country, as much as two men, who came with her, could carry; and these she gave all to the man that had brought back her child. Our men were so moved at the affectionate carriage of this poor woman to her child, that they told me it brought tears out of their eyes.

They took her present, but the man that received it took the woman and dressed her up almost as he had done the child, and she went home like a kind of a queen among them.

We observed while we stayed here that this was a most incomparable soil, that the earth was a fat loamy mould, that the herbage was strong, that the grass in some places was very rank and good, being as high as our mid-thigh, and that the air was neither very hot, nor, as we believe, very cold. We made an experiment of the fruitfulness of the soil, for we took some white peas, and digging the ground up with a spade, we sowed some, and before we went away we saw them come out of the ground again, which was in about nine days.

We made signs to the people that they should let them grow, and that if they gathered them they were good to eat. We also sowed some English wheat, and let them know as well as we could what the use of them both was. But I make no doubt but they have been better acquainted with them both by this time, by an occasion which followed.

Our men were so fond of this place and so pleased with the temper of the people, the fruitfulness of the

soil and agreeableness of the climate, that about twenty of them offered me, if I would give them my word to come again, or send to them to relieve and supply them with necessaries, they would go on shore and begin a colony and live all their days there. Nay, after this, their number came up to three-and-thirty; or they offered, that if I would give them the sloop, and leave with them a quantity of goods, especially such toys as they knew would oblige the people to use them well, they would stay at all hazards, not doubting, as they told me, but they should come to England again at last with the sloop full of gold.

I was not very willing to encourage either of these proposals because, as I told them, I might perhaps find a place as fit to settle a colony in before we came home, which was not at such an excessive distance from England, so that it was scarce possible ever to relieve them. This satisfied them pretty well, and they were content to give over the project; and yet at last, which was more preposterous than all the rest, five of our men and a boy ran away from us and went on shore; and what sort of life they led or how they manage, we are scarce ever likely to know, for they are too far off us to inquire after them again. They took a small yawl with them, and it seems had furnished themselves privately with some necessary things, especially tools, a grindstone, a barrel of powder, some peas, some wheat, and some barley; so that it seems they are resolved to plant there. I confess I pitied them, and when I had searched for them and could not find them, I caused a letter to be written to them, and fixed it up upon a post at the place where our ship careened, and another on the

south side, to tell them that in such a certain place I had left other necessaries for them, which I did, made up in a large case of boards or planks, and covered with boards like a shed.

Here I left them hammocks for lodging, all sorts of tools for building them a house, spades, shovels, pickaxes, an axe, two saws, with clothes, shoes, stockings, hats, shirts, and, in a word, everything that I could think of for their use; and a large box of toys, beads, &c., to oblige the trade with the natives.

One of our men, whom they had made privy to their design, but made him promise not to reveal it till they were gone, had told them that he would persuade me if he could to leave them a further supply; and bid them come to the place after the ships were gone, and that they should find directions left for them on a piece of a board, or a letter from him, set up upon a post. Thus they were well furnished with all things for immediate living.

I make no doubt but they came to find these things; and since they had a mind to make trial of a wild retired life, they might shift very well; nor would they want anything but Englishwomen to raise a new nation of English people in a part of the world that belongs neither to Europe, Asia, Africa, or America. I also left them every man another gun, a cutlass, and a horn for powder, and I left two barrels of fine powder, and two pigs of lead for shot, in another chest by itself.

I doubt not but the natives will bestow wives upon them, but what sort of a posterity they will make I cannot foresee. For I do not find by inquiry that the fellows had any great store of knowledge or religion in them, being all Madagascar men, as we called

them — that is to say, pirates and rogues; so that for aught I know there may be a generation of English heathens in an age or two more, though I left them five Bibles and six or seven prayer-books, and good books of several sorts, that they might not want instruction if they thought fit to make use of it for themselves or their progeny.

It is true this is a country that is most remote from us of any in the yet discovered world, and consequently it would be suggested as unprofitable to our commerce; but I have something to allege in its defence which will prove it to be infinitely more advantageous to England than any of our East India trade can be, or that can be pretended for it. The reason is plain in a few words: our East India trade is all carried on, or most of it, by an exportation of bullion in specie and a return of foreign manufactures or produce, and most of these manufactures also, either trifling and unnecessary in themselves or such as are injurious to our own manufactures. The solid goods brought from India which may be said to be necessary to us, and worth sending our money for, are but few; for example: —

1. The returns which I reckon trifling and unnecessary are such as china ware, coffee, tea, japan works, pictures, fans, screens, &c.

2. The returns that are injurious to our manufactures, or growth of our own country, are printed calicoes, chintz, wrought silks, stuffs of herbs and barks, block tin, cotton, arrack, copper, indigo.

3. The necessary or useful things are pepper, saltpetre, dyeing-woods and dyeing-earths, drugs, lacs, such as shellac, stick-lac, &c., diamonds, and some pearl, and raw silk.

For all these we carry nothing or very little but money, the innumerable nations of the Indies, China, &c., despising our manufactures and filling us with their own.

On the contrary, the people in the southern unknown countries, being first of all very numerous, and living in a temperate climate which requires clothing, and having no manufactures or materials for manufactures of their own, would consequently take off a very great quantity of English woollen manufactures, especially when civilised by our dwelling among them and taught the manner of clothing themselves for their ease and convenience; and in return for these manufactures, it is evident we should have gold in specie, and perhaps spices, the best merchandise and return in the world.

I need say no more to excite adventurous heads to search out a country by which such an improvement might be made, and which would be such an increase of, or addition to, the wealth and commerce of our country.

Nor can it be objected here that this nook of the country may not easily be found by any one but us that have been there before, and perhaps not by us again exactly; for not to enter into our journal of observations for their direction, I lay it down as a foundation, that whosoever, sailing over the South Seas, keeps a stated distance from the tropic to the latitude of fifty-six to sixty degrees, and steers eastward towards the Straits of Magellan, shall never fail to discover new worlds, new nations, and new inexhaustible funds of wealth and commerce, such as never were yet known to the merchants of Europe.

This is the true ocean called the South Sea; that

part that we corruptly call so can be so in no geographical account, or by any rule, but by the mere imposition of custom, it being only originally called so because they that sailed to it were obliged to go round the southernmost part of America to come into it; whereas it ought indeed to be called the West Sea, as it lies on the west side of America, and washes the western shore of that great continent for near eight thousand miles in length, to wit, from fifty-six degrees south of the line to seventy degrees north, and how much farther we know not. On this account I think it ought to be called the American Ocean, rather than with such impropriety the South Sea.

But this part of the world where we were may rightly be called the South Sea by way of distinction, as it extends from India round the globe to India again, and lies all south of the line (even for aught we know to the very South Pole), and which, except some interposition of land, whether islands or continent, really surrounds the South Pole.

We were now in the very centre or middle of the South Sea, being, as I have said, in the latitude of thirty-four degrees twenty minutes; but having had such good success in our inquiry or search after new continents, I resolved to steer to the S. and S.E. as far as till we should be interrupted by land or ice, determining to search this unknown part of the globe as far as nature would permit, that I might be able to give some account to my employers, and some light to other people that might come that way, whether by accident or by design.

We had spent six-and-twenty days in this place, as well in repairing our brigantine and careening and trimming our ship, that we had not been so long but

that we did not resolve to careen our ships till we had spent ten days about the brigantine, and then we found more work to do to the sheathing of the Madagascar ship than we expected.

We stored ourselves here with fresh provisions and water, but got nothing that we could call a store, except the flesh of about thirty deer, which we dried in the sun, and which ate indifferently well afterwards, but not extraordinary.

We sailed again the six-and-twentieth day after we came in, having a fair wind at N. and N.N.W., and a fresh gale, which held us five days without intermission, in which time, running away S. and S.S.E., we reached the former latitude where we had been; and meeting with nothing remarkable, we steered a little farther to the eastward, but keeping a southerly course still, till we came into the latitude of forty-one; and then going due east, with the wind at N. and by W., we reckoned our meridian distance from the Ladrones to be fifty degrees and a half.

In all this run we saw no land, so we hauled two points more southerly, and went on for six or seven days more; when one of our men on the round-top cried "Land!" It was a clear, fine morning, and the land he spied being very high, it was found to be sixteen leagues distance, and the wind slacking, we could not get in that night; so we lay by till morning, when being fair with the land, we hoisted our boat to go and sound the shore as usual. They rowed in close with the shore and found a little cove where there was good riding, but very deep water, being no less than sixty fathom within cable's length of the shore.

We went in, however, and after we were moored,

sent our boat on shore to look for water, and what else the country afforded. Our men found water and a good sort of country, but saw no inhabitants; and upon coasting a little both ways on the shore they found it to be an island, and without people; but found that about three leagues off to the southward there seemed to be a *terra firma* or continent of land, where it was more likely we should make some discovery.

The next day we filled water again and shot some ducks, and the day after weighed and stood over for the main, as we thought it to be; here, using the same caution as we always had done, viz., of sounding the coast, we found a bold shore, and very good anchor-hold in six-and-twenty to thirty fathom water.

When we came on shore here we found people, but of quite a different condition from those we had met with before, being wild, furious, and untractable; surprised at the sight of us, but not frightened; preparing for battle, not for trade; and no sooner were we on shore but they saluted us with their bows and arrows. We made signals of truce to them, but they did not understand us, and we knew not what to offer them more but the muzzle of our muskets; for we were resolved to see what sort of folks they were either by fair means or foul.

The first time, therefore, that they shot at our men with their bows and arrows, we returned the salute with our musket ball, and killed two of their best archers: we could easily perceive that the noise of our pieces terrified them; and the two men being killed, they knew not how or with what, perfectly astonished them, so that they ran as it were clean

out of the country, that is to say, clean out of our reach; for we could never set our eyes upon any of them after it. We coasted this place also according to our usual customs, and to our great surprise found it was an island too, though a large one, and that the mainland lay still more to the southward, about six leagues distance; so were resolved to look out farther, and accordingly set sail the next day and anchored under the shore of this last land, which we were persuaded was really the main.

We went on shore here peaceably, for we neither saw any people or the appearance of any, but a charming pleasant valley, of about ten or eleven miles long and five or six miles broad; and then it was surrounded with mountains which reached the full length, running parallel with the valley and closing it into the sea at both ends, so that it was a natural park, having the sea on the north side and the mountains in a semicircle round all the rest of it. These hills were so high, and the ways so untrod and so steep, that our men, who were curious enough to have climbed to the top of them, could find no way that was practicable to get up, and so after two or three attempts gave it over.

In this vale we found abundance of deer and abundance of the same kind of sheep which I mentioned lately. We killed as many of both as we had occasion for; and finding nothing here worth our staying any longer for, except that we saw something like wild rice growing here, we weighed after three days and stood away still to the south.

We had not sailed above two days with little wind and an easy sail, but we perceived this also was an island, though it must be a large one; for by our

own account we sailed near a hundred and fifty miles along the shore of it, and we found the south part a flat pleasant country enough, and our men said they saw people upon it on the south side, but we went not on shore there any more.

Steering due south from hence in quest of the mainland, we went on eleven days more and saw nothing significant; and upon a fair observation I found we were in the latitude of seven-and-forty degrees and eight minutes south; then I altered my course a little to the eastward, finding no land and the weather very cold, and going on with a fresh gale at S.S.W. for four days, we made land again; but it was now to the E.N.E., so that we were gotten, as we may say, beyond it.

We fell in with this land in the evening, so that it was not perceived till we were within half a league of it, which very much alarmed us; the land being low, and having found our error, we brought to and stood off and on till morning, when we saw the shore lie as it were under our larboard-bow, within a mile and a quarter distance; the land low, but the sea deep, and soft ground. We came to an anchor immediately and sent our shallops to sound the shore, who found very good riding in a little bay under the shelter of two points of land, one of which made a kind of nook, under which we lay secure from all winds that could blow, in seventeen fathom good ground. Here we had a good observation, and found ourselves in the latitude of fifty degrees twenty-one minutes. Our next work was to find water, and our boats going ashore found plenty of good water and some cattle, but told us they could give no account what they were or what they were like. In search-

ing this coast we soon found this was an island also, about eleven leagues in length from N.W. to S.E., what breadth we could not tell. Our men also saw some signs of inhabitants; the next day six men appeared at a distance, but would take notice of no signals, and fled as soon as our men advanced. Our people went up to the place where they lay and found they had had a fire of some dry wood; that they had lain there, as they supposed, all night, though without covering; they found two pieces of old ragged skins of deer, which looked as if worn out by some that had used them for clothing; one piece of a skin of some other creature which had been rolled up into a cap for the head, and a couple of arrows of about four feet long, very thick, and made of a hard and heavy wood; so they must have very large and strong bows to shoot such arrows, and consequently must be men of an uncommon strength.

Our men wandered about the country here three or four days, with less caution than the nature of the thing required; for they were not among a people of an innocent, inoffensive temper here as before, but among a wild and untractable nation, that perhaps had never seen creatures in their own likeness before, and had no thoughts of themselves but of being killed and destroyed, and consequently had no thoughts of them they had seen but as of enemies, whom they must either destroy if they were able, or escape from them if they were not. However, we got no harm; neither would the natives ever appear to accept any kindnesses from us.

We had no business here after we found what sort of people they were who inhabited this place.

So soon as we had taken in fresh water and catched some fish, of which we found good store in the harbour or bay where we rode, we prepared to be gone. Here we found the first oysters that we saw anywhere in the South Seas, and as our men found them but the day before we were to sail, they made great entreaty to me to let them stay one day to get a quantity on board; they being very refreshing as well as nourishing to our men.

But I was more easily prevailed with to stay when Captain Mirlotte brought me out of one oyster that he happened to open, a true oriental pearl, so large and so fine that I sold it since my return for three-and-fifty pounds.

After taking this oyster, I ordered all our boats out a-dredging, and in two days' time so great a quantity there was, that our men had taken above fifty bushels, most of them very large. But we were surprised, you may be sure, when at the opening all these oysters, we found not one pearl, small nor great, of any kind whatever; so we concluded that the other was a lucky hit only, and that perhaps there might not be any more of that kind in these seas.

While we were musing on the oddness of this accident, the boatswain of the Madagascar ship, whose boat's crew had brought in the great oyster in which the pearl was found, and who had been examining the matter, came and told me that it was true that their boat had brought in the oyster, and that it was before they went out a-dredging in the offing; but that their boat took these oysters on the west side of the island, where they had been shoring, as they call it, that is to say, coasting along the shore, to see if they could

find anything worth their labour; but that afterwards the boats went a-dredging in the mouth of the bay where we rode, and where, finding good store of oysters, they had gone no farther.

Upon this intelligence we ordered all hands to dredging again on the west side of the island; this was in a narrow channel, between this island and a little cluster of islands, which we found together extended west; the channel where our men fished might be about a league over, something better, and the water about five or seven fathom deep.

They came home well tired and ill pleased, having taken nothing near so many oysters as before. But I was much better pleased when in opening them we found a hundred and fifty-eight pearls of the most perfect colour, and of extraordinary shape and size; besides double the number of a less size and irregular shape.

This quickened our diligence and encouraged our men, for I promised the men two pieces of eight to each man above his pay if I got any considerable quantity of pearl. Upon this they spread themselves among the islands and fished for a whole week, and I got such a quantity of pearl as made it very well worth our while; and besides that, I had reason to believe the men, at least the officers who went with them, concealed a considerable quantity among themselves; which, however, I did not think fit to inquire very strictly after at that time.

Had we been nearer home, and not at so very great an expense as three ships, and so many men at victuals and wages, or had we been where we might have left one of our vessels to fish and have come to them again, we would not have given it over while there had been

an oyster left in the sea, or, at least, that we could come at. But as things stood, I resolved to give it over and put to sea.

But when I was just giving orders, Captain Mirlotte came to me and told me that all the officers in the three ships had joined together to make an humble petition to me: which was, that I would give them one day to fish for themselves; that the men had promised, that if I would consent, they would work for them gratis, and they promised, if they gained anything considerable, they would account for as much out of their wages as should defray the ships' expense, victuals and wages, for the day.

This was so small a request that I readily consented to it, and told them I would give them three days, provided they were willing to give the men a largess as I had done, in proportion to their gain. This they agreed to, and to work they went; but whether it was that the fellows worked with a better will, or that the officers gave them more liquor, or that they found a new bank of oysters which had not been found out before, but so it was that the officers got as many pearls, and some of extraordinary size and beauty, as they afterwards sold when they came to Peru for 3217 pieces of eight.

When they had done this, I told them it was but meet that as they had made so good a purchase for themselves by the labour of the men, the men should have the consideration which I had proposed to them; but now I would make another condition with them, that we should stay three days more, and whatever was caught in these three days should be shared among the men at the first port we came at, where they could be sold, that the men who had now

been out so long might have something to buy clothes and liquors without anticipating their wages; but then I made a condition with the men too, viz., that whatever was taken they should deposit it in my hands, and with the joint trust of three men of their own choosing, one out of each ship, and that we would sell the pearl, and I should divide the money among them equally, that so there might be no quarrelling or discontent, and that none of them should play any part of it away. These engagements they all came willingly into, and away they went a-dredging, relieving one another punctually, so that in the whole three days every man worked an equal share of hours with the rest.

But the poor men had not so good luck for themselves as they had for their officers. However, they got a considerable quantity, and some very fine ones; amongst the rest they had two in the exact shape of a pear, and very exactly matched, and these they would needs make me a present of, because I had been so kind to them, to make the proposal for them. I would have paid for them two hundred pieces of eight, but one and all they would not be paid, and would certainly have been much affronted if I had not accepted of them; and yet the success of the men was not so small, but joined with the two pieces of eight a man which I allowed them on the ships' account, and the like allowance the officers made them, and the produce of their own purchase, they divided afterwards about fifteen pieces of eight a man, which was a great encouragement to them.

Thus we spent in the whole near three weeks here, and called these the Pearl Islands, though we had given no names to any places before. We were the

more surprised with this unexpected booty, because we all thought it very unusual to find pearl of so excellent a kind in such a latitude as that of forty-nine to fifty; but it seems there are riches yet unknown in those parts of the world, where they have never been yet expected; and I have been told by those who pretend to give a reason for it, that if there was any land directly under the Poles, either south or north, there would be found gold of a fineness more than double to any that was ever yet found in the world; and this is the reason, they say, why the magnetic influence directs to the Poles, that being the centre of the most pure metals; and why the needle, touched with the loadstone or magnet, always points to the North or South Pole; but I do not recommend this as a certainty, because it is evident no demonstration could ever be arrived to, nor could any creature reach to that particular spot of land under the Pole, if such there should be, these lands being surrounded with mountains of snow and frozen seas, which never thaw, and are utterly unpassable either for ships or men.

But to return to our voyage. Having thus spent, as I have said, three weeks on this unexpected expedition, we set sail; and as I was almost satisfied with the discoveries we had made, I was for bending my course due east, and so directly for the south part of America; but the wind now blowing fresh from the north-west, and good weather, I took the occasion, as a favourable summons, to keep still on southing as well as east, till we came into the latitude of sixty-six, when our men, who had been all along a warm-weather voyage, began to be pinched very much with the cold, and particularly com-

plained that they had not clothes sufficient for it. But they were brought to be content by force, for the wind continuing at N. and N.N.W. and blowing very hard, we were obliged to keep on our course farther south, indeed, than I ever intended, and one of our men swore we should be driven to the South Pole; indeed, we rather ran afore it than kept our course, and in this run we suffered the extremest cold, though a northerly wind in those latitudes is the warm wind, as the southerly is here, but it was attended with rain and snow, and both freezing violently. At length one of the men cried out "Land!" and our men began to rejoice; but I was quite of a different opinion, and my fears were but too just, for as soon as ever he cried land, and that I asked him in what quarter and he answered due south, which was almost right ahead, I bid wear the ship and put her about immediately, not doubting but instead of finding land I should find it a mountain of ice, and so it was; and it was happy for us that we had a stout ship under us, for it blew a fret of wind. However, the ship came very well about, though, when she filled again, we found the ice not half a league distance under our stern. As I happened to be the headmost ship, I fired two guns to give notice to our other vessels, for that was our signal to put about; but that which was very uneasy to me, the weather was hazy and they both out of sight, which was the first time that we lost sight of one another in those seas. However, being both to windward and within hearing of my guns, they took warning, and came about with more leisure and less hazard than I had done.

I stood away now to the eastward, firing guns con-

tinually, that they might know which way to follow, and they answered me duly, to let me know that they heard me.

It was our great good-hap also that it was day when we escaped this danger. In the afternoon the wind abated and the weather cleared up; we then called a council, and resolved to go no farther south, being then in the latitude of sixty-seven south, which I suppose is the farthest southern latitude that any European ship ever saw in those seas.

That night it froze extremely hard, and the wind veering to the S.W. it was the severest cold that ever I felt in my life. A barrel or cask of water which stood on the deck froze entirely in one night into one lump, and our cooper knocking off the hoops from the cask, took it to pieces, and the barrel of ice stood by itself in the true shape of the vessel it had been in. This wind was, however, favourable to our deliverance, for we stood away now N.E. and N.E. by N., making fresh way with a fair wind. We made no more land till we came into the latitude of sixty-two, when we saw some islands at a great distance on both sides of us; we believed them to be islands because we saw many of them with large openings between. But we were all so willing to get into a warmer climate that we did not incline to put in anywhere, till having run thus fifteen days, and the wind still holding southerly with small alteration and clear weather, we could easily perceive the climate altered, and the weather grew milder; and here taking an observation, I found myself in the latitude of fifty and a half, and that our meridian distance from the Ladrones west was eighty-seven degrees, being almost one semi-diameter of the globe, so that I could not be far from

the coast of America, which was my next design, and indeed the chief design of the whole voyage.

On this expectation I changed my course a little and went away N. by E., till by an observation I found myself in forty-seven degrees seven minutes, and then standing away east for about eleven days more, we made the tops of the Andes, the great mountains of Chili, in South America, to our great joy and satisfaction, though at a very great distance.

We found our distance from the shore not less than twenty leagues, the mountains being so very high; and our next business was to consider what part of the Andes it must be, and to what port we should direct ourselves first. Upon the whole, we found we were too much to the south still, and resolved to make directly for the river or port of Valdivia, or Baldivia, call it which you please, in the latitude of forty degrees, so we stood away to the north. The next day this Pacific, Quiet Sea, as they called it, showed us a very frowning rough countenance, and proved the very extreme of a contrary disposition, for it blew a storm of wind at E. by S., and drove us off the coast again; but it abated again for a day or two, and then for six days together it blew excessive hard, almost all at E., so that I found no possibility of getting into the shore; and, besides, I found that the winds came off that mountainous country in squalls, and that the nearer we came to the hills the gusts were more violent; so I resolved to run for the island of Juan Fernandez, to refresh ourselves there until the weather was settled; and, besides, we wanted fresh water very much.

The little that the wind stood southerly helped me in this run, and we came in five days more fair with the island, to our great joy, and brought all our ships

to an anchor as near the watering-place as is usual, where we rode easy though the wind continued to blow very hard; and being, I say, now about the middle of our voyage, I shall break off my account here as of the first part of my work, and begin again at our departure from hence.

It is true we had got over much the greater run as to length of way, but the most important part of our voyage was yet to come, and we had no inconsiderable length to run neither; for as we purposed to sail north the height of Panama, in the latitude of nine degrees north, and back again by Cape Horn, in the latitude perhaps of sixty degrees south, and that we were now in forty degrees south, those three added to the run from Cape Horn home to England made a prodigious length, as you will see by the following account, in which also the meridian distances are not at all reckoned, though those also are very great.

	DEG.
From Juan Fernandez to the Line	30
From the Line to Panama	9
From Panama to Cape Horn, including the distance we take in going round	60
From Cape Horn to the Line again in the North Seas	60
From the Line to England	51
Total	210

N.B. — Only you must deduct from this account the distance from Lima to Panama, because we did not go up to Panama as we intended to do.

By this account we had almost thirty degrees to run more than a diameter of the globe, besides our distance west, where we then were, from the meridian of England, whither we were to go, which, if exactly calcu-

lated, is above seventy degrees, take it from the island of Juan Fernandez. But to return a little to our stay in this place, for that belongs to this part of my account, and of which I must make a few short observations.

It was scarce possible to restrain Englishmen after so long beating the sea from going on shore, when they came to such a place of refreshment as this; nor indeed was it reasonable to restrain them, considering how we all might be supposed to stand in need of refreshment, and considering that here was no length of ground for the men to wander in, no liquors to come at to distract them with their excess, and, which was still more, no women to disorder or debauch them. We all knew their chief exercise would be hunting goats for their subsistence, and we knew also, that however they wanted the benefit of fresh provision, they must work hard to catch it before they could taste the sweets of it. Upon these considerations, I say, our ships being well moored and riding safe, we restrained none of them except a due number to take care of each ship; and those were taken out by lot, and then had their turn also to go on shore some days afterwards, and in the meantime had both fresh water and fresh meat sent them immediately, and that in sufficient quantity to their satisfaction. As soon as we were on shore and had looked about us, we began first with getting some fresh water, for we greatly wanted it, then carrying a small cask of arrack on shore, I made a quantity of it be put into a whole butt of water before I let our men drink a drop; so correcting a little the chillness of the water, because I knew they would drink an immoderate quantity and endanger their healths. And the effect

answered my care, for those who drank at the spring where they took in the water before I got this butt filled, and before the arrack was put into it, fell into swoonings and faint sweats, having gorged themselves too much with the cool water; and two or three I thought would have died, but our surgeons took such care of them that they recovered.

While this was doing, others cut down branches of trees and built us two large booths, and five or six small, and we made two tents with some old sails; and thus we encamped as if we had been to take up our dwelling, and intended to people the island.

At the same time others of our men began to look out for goats, for you may believe we all longed for a little fresh meat. They were a little too hasty at their work at first, for firing among the first goats they came at, when there were but a few men together, they frighted the creatures, and they ran away into holes and among the rocks and places where we could not find them, so that for that day they made little of it. However, sending for more firemen, they made a shift to bring in seventeen goats the same day; whereof we sent five on board the ships, and feasted with the rest on shore. But the next day the men went to work in another manner, and with better conduct, for as we had hands enough and firearms enough, they spread themselves so far, that they, as it were, surrounded the creatures; and so driving them out of their fastnesses and retreats, they had no occasion to shoot, for the goats could not get away from them, and they took them everywhere with their hands except some of the old he-goats, which were so surly, that they would stand at bay and rise at them, and would not be taken; and these,

as being old also, and as they thought good for nothing, they let go.

In short, so many of our men went on shore, and these divided themselves into so many little parties, and plied their work so hard, and had such good luck, that I told them it looked as if they had made a general massacre of the goats rather than a-hunting.

Our men also might be said not to refresh themselves, but to feast themselves here with fresh provisions; for though we stayed but thirteen days, yet we killed three hundred and seventy goats, and our men who were on board were very merrily employed, I assure you, for they might be said to do very little but roast and stew, and broil and fry, from morning to night; it was indeed an exceeding supply to them, for they had been extremely fatigued with the last part of their voyage, and had had no fresh provisions for six weeks before.

This made them hunt the goats with the more eagerness; and indeed they surrounded them so dexterously, and followed them so nimbly, that notwithstanding the difficulties of the rocks, yet the goats could hardly ever escape them. Here our men found also very good fish, and some few tortoises, or turtles, as the seamen call them; but they valued them not when they had such plenty of venison. Also they found some very good herbs in the island, which they boiled with the goat's flesh, and which made their broth very savoury and comfortable, and withal very healing and good against the scurvy, to which in those climates Englishmen are very subject.

We were now come to the month of April 1715, having spent almost eight months in this trafficking, wandering voyage from Manilla hither; and whoever

shall follow the same or a like track, if ever such a thing shall happen, will do well to make a year of it, and may find it very well worth while.

I doubt not but there are many undiscovered parts of land to the west and to the south also of the first shore of which I mentioned that we stayed trafficking for little bits of gold. And though it is true that such a traffic as I have given an account of is very advantageous in itself, and worth while to look for, especially after having had a good market for an outward bound European cargo, according to the pattern of ours at the Philippines, and which, by the way, they need not miss; I say, as this trade for gold would be well worth while, so, had we gone the best way, and taken a course more to the south from Manilla, not going away E. to the Ladrones, we should certainly have fallen in with a country from the coast of Guinea, where we might have found plenty of spices as well as of gold.

For why should we not be allowed to suppose that the countries on the same continent and in the same latitude should produce the same growth? especially considering them situated, as it may be called, in the neighbourhood of one another.

Had we then proceeded this way, no question but we might have fixed on some place for a settlement, either English or French; whence a correspondence being established with Europe, either by Cape Horn east, or the Cape de Bonne Espérance west, as we had thought fit, they might have found as great a production of the nutmegs and the cloves as at Banda and Ternate, or have made those productions have been planted there for the future, where no doubt they would grow and thrive as well as they do

now in the Moluccas. But we spun out too much time for the business; and though we might, as above, discover new places, and get very well too, yet we did nothing in comparison of what we might be supposed to do had we made the discovery more our business.

I cannot doubt also but that when I stood away south it was too late, for had I stood into the latitude of sixty-seven at first as I did afterwards, I have good reason to believe that those islands which we call the Moluccas, and which lie so thick, and for so great an extent, go on yet farther, and it is scarce to be imagined that they break off just with Gillolo.

This I call a mistake in me, namely, that I stood away east from the Philippines to the Ladrones before I had gone any length to the south.

But to come to the course set down in this work, namely, S.E. and E. from the said Ladrones, the places I have taken notice of, as these do not, in my opinion, appear to be inconsiderable and of no value; so had we searched farther into them, I doubt not but there are greater things to be discovered, and perhaps a much greater extent of land also. For as I have but just, as it were, described the shell, having made no search after the kernel, it is more than probable that within the country there might be greater discoveries made, of immense value too; for even as I observed several times, whenever we found any people that had gold, and asked them as well as by signs we could make them understand, they always pointed to the rivers and the mountains which lay farther up the country, and which we never made any discovery of, having little in our view but the getting what little share of gold the poor people had about

them; whereas, had we taken a possession of the place, and left a number of men sufficient to support themselves in making a farther search, I cannot doubt but that there must be a great deal of that of which the inactive Indians had gotten but a little.

Nor had we any skilful man among us to view the face of the earth, and see what treasure of choice vegetables might be there. We had indeed six very good surgeons; and one of them, whom we took in among the Madagascar men, was a man of very great reading and judgment, but he acknowledged he had no skill in botany, having never made it his study.

But to tell the truth, our doctors themselves, so we call the surgeons at sea, were so taken up in the traffic for gold, that they had no leisure to think of anything else. They did indeed pick up some shells, and some strange figured skeletons of fishes, and small beasts, and other things, which they esteemed as rarities; but they never went a-simpling, as they call it, or to inquire what the earth brought forth that was rare and not to be found anywhere else.

I think likewise it is worth observing, how the people we met with, where it is probable no ships, much less European ships, had ever been, and where they had never conversed with enemies, or with nations accustomed to steal and plunder; I say, the people who lived thus had no fire, no rage in their looks, no jealous fears of strangers doing them harm, and consequently no desire to do harm to others. They had bows and arrows indeed, but it was rather to kill the deer and fowls, and to provide themselves food, than to offend their enemies, for they had none.

When, therefore, removing from thence, we came to other and different nations, who were ravenous and mischievous, treacherous and fierce, we concluded they had conversed with other nations, either by going to them, or their vessels coming there; and to confirm me in this opinion, I found these fierce false Indians had canoes and boats, some of one kind and some of another, by which perhaps they conversed with the islands, or other nations near them, and that they also received ships and vessels from other nations, by which they had several occasions to be upon their guard, and learnt the treacherous and cruel part from others, which nature gave them no ideas of before.

As the natives of these places were tractable and courteous, so they would be made easily subservient and assistant to any European nation that would come to make settlements among them, especially if those European nations used them with humanity and courtesy; for I have made it a general observation concerning the natural dispositions of all the savage nations that ever I met with, that if they are once but really obliged they will be always very faithful.

But it is our people, I mean the Europeans, breaking faith with them that first teaches them ingratitude, and inures them to treat their new-comers with breach of faith, and with cruelty and barbarity. If you once win them by kindness and doing them good, I mean at first, before they are taught to be rogues by example, they will generally be honest and be kind also, to the uttermost of their power.

But it is to be observed, that it has been the opinion of all the sailors who have navigated those

parts of the world, that further south there have been great tracts of undiscovered land; and some have told us that they have seen them, and have called them by such and such names; as particularly the Isles of Solomon, of which, yet, we can hear of nobody that ever went on shore on them, or that could give any account of them, except such as are romantic and not to be depended upon.

But what has been the reason why we have hitherto had nothing but guesses made at those things, and that all that has been said of such lands has been imperfect? The reason, if I may speak my opinion, has been because it is such a prodigious run from the coast of America to the islands of the Ladrones, that few people who have performed it never durst venture to go out of the way of the trade winds, lest they should not be able to subsist for want of water and provisions; and this is particularly the case in the voyage from the coast of America only.

Whereas, to go the way which I have pointed out, had we seen a necessity, and that there was no land to be seen south of the tropic, for a supply of provisions and fresh water, it was evident we could have gone back again from one place to another, and have been constantly supplied; and this makes it certain also, that it cannot be reasonably undertaken by a ship going from the east, I mean the coast of America, to the west; but from the west, viz., the Spice Islands to America west, it may be adventured with ease, as you see.

It is true that William Cornelius Schouten and Jacob Le Maire, who first found the passage into the South Sea by Cape Horn, and not to pass the Straits of Magellan, — I say they did keep to the southward

of the tropic, and pass, in part, the same way I have given here an account of, as by their journals, which I have by me at this time, is apparent.

And it is as true also that they did meet with many islands and unknown shores in those seas, where they got refreshment, especially fresh water. Perhaps some of the places were the same I have described in this voyage; but why they never pursued that discovery, or marked those islands and places they got refreshments at, so that others, in quest of business, might have touched at them and have received the like benefit, that I can give no account of.

I cannot help being of opinion, let our mapmakers place them where they will, that those islands where we so successfully fished for oysters, or rather for pearl, are the same which the ancient geographers have called Solomon's Islands; and though they are so far south, the riches of them may not be the less, nor are they more out of the way; on the contrary, they lie directly in the track which our navigators would take, if they thought fit either to go or come between Europe and the West Indies, seeing they that come about Cape Horn seldom go less south than the latitude of sixty-three to sixty-four degrees; and these islands, as I have said, lie in the latitude of forty to forty-eight south, and extend themselves near one hundred and sixty leagues in breadth from north to south.

Without doubt, those islands would make a very noble settlement, in order to victual and relieve the European merchants in so long a run as they have to make; and when this trade came to be more frequented, the calling of those ships there would enrich the islands, as the English at St. Helena are

enriched by the refreshing which the East India ships find that meet there.

But to return to our present situation at Juan Fernandez. The refreshment which our men found here greatly encouraged and revived them, and the broths and stewings which we made of the goats' flesh which we killed there, than which nothing could be wholesomer, restored all our sick men; so that we lost but two men in our whole passage from the East Indies, and had lost but eight men in our whole voyage from England, except I should reckon those five men and a boy to be lost who ran away from us in the country among the Indians, as I have already related.

I should have added that we careened and cleaned our ships here, and put ourselves into a posture for whatever adventures might happen; for, as I resolved upon a trading voyage upon the coast of Chili and Peru, and a cruising voyage also, as it might happen, so I resolved also to put our ships into a condition for both as occasion should present.

Our men were nimble at this work especially, having been so well refreshed and heartened up by their extraordinary supply of fresh meats, and the additions of good broth and soups, which they fed on every day in the island, and with which they were supplied without any manner of limitation all the while they were at work.

This, I say, being their case, they got the Madagascar ship hauled down, and her bottom washed and tallowed, and she was as clean as when she first came off the stocks in five days' time, and she was rigged and all set to rights and fit for sailing in two more.

The great ship was not so soon fitted, nor was I in so much haste, for I had a design in my head which I had not yet communicated to anybody, and that was to send the Madagascar ship a-cruising as soon as she was fitted up. Accordingly, I say, the fifth day she was ready, and I managed it so that the captain of the Madagascar ship, openly before all the men, made the motion as if it had been his own project, and desired I would let him go and try his fortune, as he called it.

I seemed loth at first, but he added to his importunity that he and all his crew were willing if they made any purchase it should be divided among all the crews in shares, according as they were shipped; that if it was the provisions, the captain should buy it at half price, for the use of the whole, and the money to be shared.

Well, upon hearing his proposals, which were esteemed very just, and the men all agreeing, I seemed to consent, and so he had my orders and instructions, and leave to be out twelve days on his cruise, and away he went. His ship was an excellent sailer, as has been said, and being now a very clean ship, I thought he might speak with anything, or get away from anything, if he pleased. By the way, I ordered him to put out none but French colours.

He cruised a week without seeing a sail, and stood in quite to the Spanish shore in one place, but that he was wrong in; the eighth day, giving over all expectations, he stood off again to sea, and the next morning he spied a sail, which was a large Spanish ship, and which seemed to stand down directly upon him, which a little checked his forwardness; however,

he kept on his course, when the Spaniard seeing him plainer than, it seems, he had done at first, tacked, and crowding all the sail he could carry, stood in for the shore.

The Spaniard was a good sailer, but our ship plainly gained upon her, and in the evening came almost up with her; when he saw the land, though at a great distance, and he was loth to be seen chasing her from the shore. However, he followed, and night coming on, the Spaniard changed his course, thinking to get away; but as the moon was just rising, our men, who resolved to keep her in sight if possible, perceived her, and stretched after her with all the canvas they could lay on.

This chase held till about midnight, when our ship coming up with her, took her after a little dispute. They pretended at first to have nothing on board but timber, which they were carrying, as they said, to some port for the building of ships; but our men had the secret to make the Spaniards confess their treasure, if they had any; so that after some hard words with the Spanish commander, he confessed he had some money on board, which, on our men's promise of good usage, he afterwards very honestly delivered, and which might amount to about sixteen thousand pieces of eight.

But he had what we were very glad of besides, viz., about two hundred great jars of very good wheat flour, a large quantity of oil, and some casks of sweetmeats, all which was to us very good prize.

But now our difficulty was what we should do with the ship and with the Spaniards; and this was so real a difficulty that I began often to wish he had

not taken her, lest her being let go she should alarm the country, or if detained discover us all.

It was not above one day beyond his orders that we had the pleasure of seeing him come into the road with his prize in tow, and the flour and oil was a very good booty to us; but upon second and better thoughts we brought the Spaniards to a fair treaty, and which was more difficult, brought all our men to consent to it. The case is this, knowing what I proposed myself to do, namely, to trade all the way up the Spanish coast, and to pass for French ships, I knew the taking this Spanish ship would betray us all, unless I resolved to sink the ship and murder all the men; so I came to this resolution, namely, to talk with the Spanish captain, and make terms with him, which I soon made him very glad of.

First I pretended to be very angry with the captain of the Madagascar ship, and to have him put under confinement for having made a prize of his Catholic Majesty's subjects, we being subjects to the king of France, who was in perfect peace with the king of Spain.

Then I told him that I would restore him his ship and all his money; and as to his flour and oil, which the men had fallen greedily upon, having a want of it, I would pay him the full value in money for it all, and for any other loss he had sustained; only that I would oblige him to lie in the road where we were till we returned from our voyage to Lima, whither we were going to trade, for which lying I also agreed to pay him demurrage for his ship after the rate of eight hundred pieces of eight per month, and if I returned not in four months he was to be at his liberty to go.

The captain, who thought himself a prisoner and undone, you may be sure would embrace this offer; and so we secured his ship till our return, and there we found him very honestly at an anchor, of which in its place.

THE END OF THE FIRST PART

PART II

WE were now, as I have said, much about the middle of our voyage (at least as I had intended it), and having stored ourselves with everything the place afforded, we got ready to proceed, for we had, as it were, dwelt here near a fortnight.

By this time the weather was good again, and we stood away to the S.E. for the port of Baldivia, as above, and reached to the mouth of the harbour in twelve days' sail.

I was now to change faces again, and Captain Mirlotte appeared as captain, all things being transacted in his name, and French captains were put into the brigantine, and into the Madagascar ship also. The first thing the captain did was to send a civil message to the Spanish governor to acquaint him that, being come into those seas as friends, under his most Christian Majesty's commission, and with the king of Spain's permission, we desired to be treated as allies, and to be allowed to take water and wood, and to buy such refreshments as we wanted, for which we would pay ready money; also we carried French colours, but took not the least notice of our intention to trade with them.

We received a very civil answer from the governor, viz., that being the king of France's subjects, and that they were in alliance with us, we were very

welcome to wood and water, and any provisions the place would afford; and that our persons should be safe, and in perfect liberty to go on shore, but that he could not allow any of our men to lie on shore, it being his express orders that he should not permit any nation, not actually in commission from the king of Spain, to come on shore and stay there, no, not one night; and that this was done to prevent disorders.

We answered that we were content with that order, seeing we did not desire our men should go on shore to stay there, we not being able to answer for any misbehaviour, which was frequent among seamen.

While we continued here several Spaniards came on board and visited us, and we often went on shore on the same pretence; but our supercargo, who understood his business too well not to make use of the occasion, presently let the Spaniards see that he had a large cargo of goods to dispose of. They as freely took the hint, and let him know that they had money enough to pay for whatever they bought. So they fell to work, and they bought East India and China silks, Japan ware, China ware, spice, and something of everything we had. We knew we should not sell all our cargo here nor any extraordinary quantity; but we knew, on the other hand, that what we did sell here we should sell for one hundred pounds per cent. extraordinary — I mean more than we should sell for at Lima, or any other port on that side, and so we did; for here we sold a bottle of arrack for four pieces of eight, a pound of cloves for five pieces of eight, and a pound of nutmegs for six pieces of eight, and the like of other things.

They would gladly have purchased some European

goods, and especially English cloth and baize; but as we had indeed very few such things left, so we were not willing they should see them, that they might not have any suspicion of our being Englishmen and English ships, which would soon have put an end to all our commerce.

While we lay here trafficking with the Spaniards, I set some of my men to work to converse among the native Chilians or Indians, as we call them, of the country; and several things they learned of them according to the instructions which I gave them. For example: first, I understood by them that the country people, who do not live among the Spaniards, have a mortal aversion to them; that it is riveted in their minds by tradition, from father to son, ever since the wars which had formerly been among them; and that though they did not now carry on those wars, yet the animosity remained, the pride and cruel and haughty temper of the Spaniards was such still to those of the country people who came under their government as makes that aversion continually increase. They let us know that if any nation in the world would but come in and assist them against the Spaniards, and support them in their rising against them, they would soon rid their hands of the whole nation. This was to the purpose exactly as to what I wanted to know.

I then ordered particular inquiry to be made whether the mountains of Andes (which are indeed prodigious to look at, and so frightful for their height, that it is not to be thought of without some horror) were in any places passable, what country there was beyond them, and whether any of their people had gone over and knew the passage.

The Indians concurred with the Spaniards in this (for our men inquired of both), that though the Andes were to be supposed indeed to be the highest mountains in the world, and that, generally speaking, they were impassable, yet that there had been passages found by the vales among the mountains; where, with fetching several compasses and windings, partly on the hills and partly in the valleys, men went with a great deal of ease and safety, quite through or over, call it as we will, to the other called the east side, and as often returned again.

Some of the more knowing Indians or Chilians went further than this, and when our men inquired after the manner, situation, and produce of the country on the other side, they told them, that when they passed the mountains from that part of the country, they went chiefly to fetch cattle and kill deer, of which there were great numbers in that part of the land; but that when they went from Santiago they turned away north some leagues when they came to a town called St. Antonio de los Vejos, or the town of St. Anthony and the old men; that there was a great river at that city, from whence they found means to go down to the Rio de la Plata, and so to the Buenos Ayres; and that they frequently carried thither great sums of money in Chilian gold, and brought back European goods from thence.

I had all I wanted now, and bade my men say no more to them of that, only tell them that they would come back, and would travel a little that way to see the country. The people appeared very well pleased with that, assuring them that if they would do so

they should find some, as well Spaniards as Chilians, who would be guides to them through the hills; also assuring them that they would find the hills very practicable, and the people as they went along very ready to assist and furnish them with whatever they found they wanted, especially if they came to know that they were not Spaniards, or that they would protect them from the Spaniards, which would be the most agreeable thing to them in the world; for it seems many of the nations of the Chilians had been driven to live in the hills, and some even beyond them, to avoid the cruelty and tyranny of the Spaniards, especially in the beginning of their planting in that country.

The next inquiry I ordered them to make was, whether it was possible to pass those hills with horses or mules, or any kind of carriages, and they assured them they might travel with mules, and even with horses also, but rather with mules, but as to carriages, such as carts or waggons, they allowed that was not practicable. They assured us that some of those ways through the hills were much frequented; and that there were towns, or villages rather, of people to be found in the valleys between the said hills; some of which villages were very large, and the soil very rich and fruitful, bearing sufficient provisions for the inhabitants, who were very numerous. They told us the people were not much inclined to live in towns as the Spaniards do, but that they lived scattered up and down the country as they were guided by the goodness of the land; that they lived very secure and unguarded, never offering any injury to one another, nor fearing injury from any but the Spaniards.

I caused these inquiries to be made with the utmost

prudence and caution, so that the Spaniards had not the least suspicion of our design; and thus, having finished our traffic and taken in water and provisions, we sailed from Baldivia, having settled a little correspondence there with two Spaniards, who were very faithful to us, and with two Chilian Indians, whom we had in a peculiar manner engaged, and who, to make sure of, we took along with us; and having spent about thirteen days here, and taken the value of about six thousand pieces of eight in silver or gold, but most of it in gold, we set sail.

Our next port was the Bay of the Conception. Here, having two or three men on board who were well acquainted with the coast, we ran boldly into the bay, and came to an anchor in the bight or little bay under the island Quiriquina, and from thence we sent our boat, with French mariners to row and a French coxswain, with a letter to the Spanish governor from Captain Mirlotte. Our pretence was always the same as before: that we had his most Christian Majesty's commission, &c., and that we desired liberty to wood and water and to buy provisions, having been a very long voyage, and the like.

Under those pretences we lay here about ten days, and drove a very considerable trade for such goods as we were sure they wanted; and having taken about the value of eight thousand pieces of eight, we set sail for the port or river that goes up to St. Jago, where we expected a very good market, being distant from the Conception about sixty-five leagues.

Santiago is the capital city of Chili, and stands twelve leagues within the land. There are two ports which are made use of to carry on the traffic of this place, viz., Port de Ropocalmo and Port de Valparaiso.

We were bound to the last, as being the only port for ships of burden, and where there is security from bad weather.

We found means here without going up to the city of Santiago to have merchants enough to come down to us; for this being a very rich city, and full of money, we found all our valuable silks of China, our atlases, China damasks, satins, &c., were very much valued and very much wanted, and no price was too high for us to ask for them; for, in a word, the Spanish ladies, who for pride do not come behind any in the world, whatever they do for beauty, were so eager for those fine things, that almost any reasonable quantity might have been sold there; but the truth is we had an unreasonable quantity, and therefore as we had other markets to go to, we did not let them know what a great stock of goods we had, but took care they had something of everything they wanted. We likewise found our spices an excellent commodity in those parts, and sold for a monstrous profit too, as indeed everything else did also, as above.

We found it very easy to sell here to the value of one hundred and thirty thousand pieces of eight, in all sorts of China and East India goods, for still, though we had some of the English cargo loose, we let none of it be seen. We took most of the money in gold uncoined, which they get out of the mountains in great quantities, and of which we shall have occasion to speak more hereafter.

Our next trading port was Coquimbo, a small town, but a good port. Here we went in without any ceremony, and upon the same footing of being French, were well received, traded underhand with the Spanish merchants, and got letters to some other mer-

chants at Guasco, a port in a little bay about fifteen leagues north from Coquimbo.

From hence to the port of Copiapo is twenty-five leagues. Here we found a very good port, though no trading town or city, but the country being well inhabited, we found means to acquaint some of the principal Spaniards in the country of what we were, and (with which they were pleased well enough) that they might trade with us for such things, which it was easy to see they gave double price for to the merchants who came from Lima and other places. This brought them to us with so much eagerness, that though they bought for their own use, not for sale, yet they came furnished with orders perhaps for two or three families together, and being generally rich, would frequently lay out six hundred or eight hundred pieces of eight a man, so that we had a most excellent market here, and took above thirty thousand pieces of eight; that is to say, the value of it, for they still paid all in gold.

Here we had an opportunity to get a quantity of good flour, or wheat meal, of very good European wheat, that is to say, of that sort of wheat, and withal had good biscuit baked on shore; so that now we got a large recruit of bread, and our men began to make puddings, and lived very comfortably; likewise we got good sugar at the ingenios, or sugar-mills, of which there were several here, and the further north we went their number increased, for we were now in the latitude of twenty-eight degrees two minutes south.

We had but one port now of any consequence that we intended to touch at till we came to the main place we aimed at, which was Lima, and this was about two-thirds of the way thither (I mean Porto Rica,

or Arica); this was in the latitude of eighteen degrees or thereabouts. They were very shy of us here, as having been much upon their guard for some years past, for fear of buccaneers and English privateers; but when they understood we were French, and our French captain sent two recommendations to them from a merchant at St. Jago, they were then very well satisfied, and we had full freedom of commerce here also.

From hence we came to the height of Lima, the capital port if not the capital city of Peru, lying in the latitude of twelve degrees thirty minutes. Had we made the least pretence of trading here, we should at least have had soldiers put on board our ships to have prevented it, and the people would have been forbidden to trade with us upon pain of death; but Captain Mirlotte having brought letters to a principal merchant of Lima, he instructed him how to manage himself at his first coming into the port, which was to ride without the town of Callao, out of the command of the puntals or castles there, and not to come any nearer upon what occasion soever, and then to leave the rest to him.

Upon this the merchant applied himself to the governor for leave to go on board the French ship at Callao. The governor understood him, and would not grant it by any means. The reason was because there had been such a general complaint by the merchants from Carthagena, Porto Bello, and other places, of the great trade carried on here with French ships from Europe, to the destruction of the merchants, and to the ruin of the trade of the galleons, that the governor or viceroy of Peru had forbidden the French ships landing any goods.

Now, though this made our traffic impracticable at Lima itself, yet it did by no means hinder the merchants trading with us under cover, &c., but especially when they came to understand that we were not laden from Europe, with baize, long ells, druggets, broadcloth, serges, stuffs, stockings, hats, and such like woollen manufactures of France, England, &c., but that our cargo was the same with that of the Manilla ships at Acapulco, and that we were laden with calicoes, muslins, fine-wrought China silks, damasks, Japan ware, China ware, spices, &c., there was then no withholding them; but they came on board us in the night with canoes, and staying all day, went on shore again in the night, carrying their goods to different places where they knew they could convey them on shore without difficulty.

In this manner we traded publicly enough, not much unlike the manner of our trade at the Manillas; and here we effectually cleared ourselves of our whole cargo, as well English goods as Indian, to an immense sum. Here our men, officers as well as seamen, sold their fine pearl, particularly one large parcel containing one hundred and seventy-three very fine pearls, but of different sizes, which a priest bought, as we were told, to dress up the image of the blessed Virgin Mary in one of their churches.

In a word, we came to a balance here, for we sold everything we had the least intention to part with. The chief things we kept in reserve were some bales of English goods, also the remainder of our beads and bugles, toys, iron-work, knives, scissors, hatchets, needles, pins, glass ware, and such things as we knew the Spaniards did not regard, and which might be useful in our farther designs,

of which my head was still very full. Those, I say, we kept still.

Here likewise we sold our brigantine, which though an excellent sea boat, as may well be supposed considering the long voyage we had made in her, was yet so worm-eaten in her bottom, that unless we had new sheathed her, and perhaps shifted most of her planks too, which would have taken up a great deal of time, she was by no means fit to have gone any further, at least not so long a run as we had now to make, viz., round the whole southern part of America, and where we should find no port to put in at (I mean where we should have been able to have got anything done for the repair of a ship), till we had come home to England.

It was proposed here to have gone to the governor or viceroy of Peru and have obtained his licence or pass to have traversed the isthmus of America, from Port Maria to the river of Darien; this we could easily have obtained under the character that we then bore, viz., of having the king of France's commission, and had we been really all French I believe I should have done it; but as we were so many Englishmen, and as such were then at open war with Spain, I did not think it a safe adventure, I mean not a rational adventure, especially considering what a considerable treasure we had with us. On the other hand, as we were now a strong body of able seamen, and had two stout ships under us, we had no reason to apprehend either the toil or the danger of a voyage round Cape Horn, after which we should be in a very good condition to make the rest of our voyage to England; whereas, if we travelled over the isthmus of America, we should be all like a company of freebooters and buc-

caneers, loose and unshipped, and should perhaps run some one way and some another, among the log-wood cutters at the bay of Campeachy and other places, to get passage some to Jamaica and some to New England; and which was worse than all, should be exposed to a thousand dangers on account of the treasure we had with us, perhaps even to that of murdering and robbing one another; and as Captain Mirlotte said, who was really a Frenchman, it was much more eligible for us, as French, or if we had been such, to have gone up to Acapulco, and there to sell our ships and get licence to travel to Mexico, and then to have got the viceroy's assiento to have come to Europe in the galleons; but as we were so many Englishmen it was impracticable; our seamen also being Protestants, such as seamen generally are, and bold mad fellows, they would never have carried on a disguise both of their nation and of their religion for so long a time as it would have been necessary to do for such a journey and voyage.

But besides all these difficulties I had other projects in my head, which made me against all the proposals of passing by land to the North Sea; otherwise, had I resolved it, I should not have much concerned myself about obtaining a licence from the Spaniards; for as we were a sufficient number of men to have forced our way, we should not much have stood upon their giving us leave or not giving us leave to go.

But, as I have said, my views lay another way, and my head had been long working upon the discourse my men had had with the Spaniards at Baldivia. I frequently talked with the two Chilian Indians which I had on board, who spoke Spanish pretty

well, and whom we had taught to speak a little English.

I had taken care that they should have all the good usage imaginable on board. I had given them each a very good suit of clothes, made by our tailor, but after their own manner, with each of them a baize cloak; and had given them hats, shoes, stockings, and everything they desired, and they were mighty well pleased; and I talked very freely with them about the passage of the mountains, for that was now my grand design.

While I was coming up the Chilian shore as you have heard, that is to say, at Santiago, at the Conception, at Arica, and even at Lima itself, we inquired on all occasions into the situation of the country, the manner of travelling, and what kind of country it was beyond the mountains; and we found them all agreeing in the same story; and that passing the mountains of Les Cordeleras, for so they call them in Peru, though it was the same ridge of hills as we call the Andes, was no strange thing, that there were not one or two, but a great many places found out, where they passed as well with horses and mules as on foot, and even some with carriages; and in particular they told us at Lima, that from Potosi and the towns thereabouts, there was a long valley which ran for one hundred and sixty leagues in length, S. and S.E., and that it continued till the hills parting; it opened into the main level country on the other side; and that there were several rivers which began in that great valley, and which all of them ran away to the S. and the S.E., and afterwards went away E. and E.N.E., and so fell into the great Rio de la Plata, and emptied themselves into the

North Seas; and that merchants travelled to those rivers, and they went down in boats as far as the town or city of the Ascension and the Buenos Ayres.

This was very satisfying, you may be sure, especially to hear them agree in it, that the Andes were to be passed (though passing them hereabouts, where I knew the mainland from the west shore, where we now were, must be at least one thousand five hundred miles broad, was no part of my project); but I laid up all these things in my head, and resolved to go away to the south again and act as I should see cause.

We were now got into a very hot climate, and whatever was the cause, my men began to grow very sickly, and that to such a degree that I was once afraid that we had got the plague amongst us; but our surgeons, whom we all call doctors at sea, assured me there was nothing of that among them, and yet we buried seventeen men here, and had between twenty and thirty more sick, and, as I thought, dangerously too.

In this extremity (for I was really very much concerned about it), one of my doctors came to me and told me he had been at the city (that is at Lima) to buy some drugs and medicines to recruit his chest, and he had fallen into company with an Irish Jesuit whom he found was an extraordinary good physician, and that he had had some discourse with him about our sick men, and he believed for a good word or two he could persuade him to come and visit them.

I was very loth to consent to it; for, says I to the surgeon, "if he is an Irishman he speaks English, and he will presently perceive that we are all Englishmen, and so we shall be betrayed, all our designs will be blown up at once, and our farther measures be all

broken;" and therefore I would not consent. This I did not speak from the fear of any hurt they could have done me by force, for I had no reason to value that, being able to have fought my way clear out of their seas if I had been put to it. But as I had traded all the way by stratagem and had many considerable views still behind, I was unwilling to be disappointed by the discovery of my schemes, or that the Spaniards should know upon what a double foundation I acted, and how I was a French ally and merchant, or an English enemy and privateer, just as I pleased and as opportunity should offer, in which case they would have been sure to have trepanned me if possible under the pretence of the former, and have used me, if they ever should get an advantage over me, as one of the latter.

This made me very cautious, and I had good reason for it too; and yet the sickness and danger of my men pressed me very hard to have the advice of a good physician if it was possible; and especially to be satisfied whether it was the plague or not, for I was very uneasy about that. But my surgeon told me that as to my apprehension of discovery he would undertake to prevent it by this method: — First, he said, he found that the Irishman did not understand French at all, and so I had nothing to do but to order that when he came on board as little English should be spoke in his hearing as possible; and this was not difficult, for almost all our men had a little French at their tongue's end, by having so many Frenchmen on board of them; others had the Levant jargon, which they called Lingua Franca, so that, if they had but due caution, it could not be suddenly perceived what countrymen they were.

Besides this the surgeon ordered that as soon as the Padre came on board he should be surrounded with French seamen only, some of which should be ordered to follow him from place to place, and chop in with their nimble tongues upon some occasion or other, so that he should hear French spoken wherever he turned himself.

Upon this, which indeed appeared very easy to be done, I agreed to let the doctor come on board, and accordingly the surgeon brought him the next day, where Captain Mirlotte received him in the cabin, and treated him very handsomely, but nothing was spoken but French or Spanish; and the surgeon, who had pretended himself to be an Irishman, acted as interpreter between the doctor and us.

Here we told him the case of our men that were sick; some of them indeed were French, and others that could speak French were instructed to speak to him as if they could speak no other tongue, and then the surgeon interpreted; others, who were English, were called Irishmen, and two or three were allowed to be English seamen, picked up in the East Indies, as we had seamen, we told him, of all nations.

The matter, in short, was so carried that the good man, for such I really think he was, had no manner of suspicion; and to do him justice, he was an admirable physician, and did our men a great deal of good; for all of them but three recovered under his hands, and those three had recovered if they had not, like madmen, drank punch when they were almost well, and by their intemperance inflamed their blood, and thereby thrown themselves back again into their fever, and put themselves, as the Padre said of them, out of the reach of medicine.

We treated this man of art with a great deal of respect, made him some very handsome presents, and particularly such as he could not come at in the country where he was; besides which I ordered he should have the value of one hundred dollars in gold given him; but he, on the other hand, thanking Captain Mirlotte for his bounty, would have no money, but he accepted a present of some linen, a few handkerchiefs, some nutmegs, and a piece of black baize, most of which, however, he said, he made presents of again in the city among some of his acquaintance.

But he had a farther design in his head, which afterwards he communicated in confidence to the surgeon I have mentioned, who conversed with him, and by him to me, and which was to him indeed of the highest importance. The case was this: —

He takes our surgeon on shore with him one day from the Madagascar ship, where he had been with him to visit some of our sick men, and drinking a glass of wine with him, he told him he had a favour to ask of him and a thing to reveal to him in confidence, which was of the utmost consequence to himself though of no great value to him (the surgeon); and if he would promise the utmost secrecy to him on his faith and honour, he put his life into his hands. "For, seignior," says he, "it will be no less, nor would anything less than my life," says he, "pay for it, if you should discover it to any of the people here or anywhere else on this coast."

The surgeon was a very honest man, and carried indeed the index of it in his face, and the Padre said afterwards he inclined to put this confidence in him because he said he thought he saw something of an honest man in his very countenance. After so frank

a beginning the surgeon made no scruple to tell him, that seeing he inclined to treat him with such confidence, and to put a trust of so great importance in him, he would give him all the assurance that was in his power, that he would be as faithful to him as it was possible to be to himself, and that the secret should never go out of his mouth to any one in the world but to such and at such time as he should consent to and direct. In short, he used so many solemn protestations that the Padre made no scruple to trust him with the secret, which indeed was no less than putting his life into his hands. The case was this: — He told him he had heard them talk of going to Ireland in their return, and as he had been thirty years out of his own country in such a remote part of the world, where it was never likely that he should ever see it again, the notion he had entertained that this ship was going thither and might set him on shore there, that he might once more see his native country and his family and friends, had filled his mind with such a surprising joy that he could no longer contain himself; and that, therefore, if he would procure leave of the captain that he might come privately on board and take his passage home, he would willingly pay whatever the captain should desire of him; but that it must be done with the greatest secrecy imaginable, or else he was undone, for that if he should be discovered and stopped he should be confined in the Jesuit's house there as long as he lived.

The surgeon told him the thing was easy to be done, if he would give him leave to acquaint one man in the ship with it, which was not Captain Mirlotte, but a certain Englishman who was a considerable person in

the ship, without whom the captain did nothing, and who would be more secure to trust by far than Captain Mirlotte. The Padre told him, that without asking him any reasons, since he had put his life into his hands, he would trust him with the management of it, and therefore left it entirely to him.

The surgeon accordingly brought him on board to me, and making a confidence of the whole matter to me, I turned to the Padre, and told him in English, giving him my hand, that I would be under all the engagements and promises of secrecy that our surgeon had been in for his security and satisfaction; that he had merited too well of us for us to wish him any ill; and, in short, that the whole ship should be engaged for his security. I told him, that as to his coming on board and bringing anything off that belonged to him, he must take his own measures, and answer to himself for the success; but that after he was on board we would sink the ship under him or blow her into the air before we would deliver him up on any account whatever.

He was so pleased with my frank way of talking to him that he told me he would put his life into my hands with the same freedom as he had done before with my surgeon; so we began to concert measures for his coming on board with secrecy.

He told us there was no need of any proposals, for he would acquaint the head of their house that he intended to go on board the French ship in the road, and to go to Santiago, where he had several times been in the same manner; and that, as they had not the least suspicion of him, he was very well satisfied that they would make no scruple of it.

But his mistake in this might have been his ruin;

for though, had it been a Spanish ship, they would not have mistrusted him, yet when he named the French ship in the road of Callao they began to question him very smartly about it. Upon which he was obliged to tell them, that since they were doubtful of him he would not go at all; telling them withal that it was hard to suspect him who had been so faithful to his vows, as to reside for near thirty years among them, when he might frequently have made an escape from them if he had been so disposed. So for three or four days he made no appearance of going at all; but having had private notice from me the evening before we sailed, he found means to get out of their hands, came down to Callao on a mule in the night, and our surgeon lying ready with our boat about half a league from the town as by appointment, he took him on board, with a negro, his servant, and brought him safe to the ship; nor had we received him on board half-an-hour, but being unmoored and ready to sail, we put out to sea and carried him clear off.

He made his excuses to me that he was come away naked, according to his profession; that he had purposed to have furnished himself with some provisions for the voyage, but that the unexpected suspicions of the head of the college or house had obliged him to come away in a manner that would not admit of it; for that he might rather be said to have made his escape than to have been come fairly off.

I told him he was very welcome; and indeed so he was, for he had been already more worth to us than ten times his passage came to; and that he should be entered into immediate pay as physician to both the ships, which I was sure none of our surgeons would repine at, but rather be glad of; and accord-

ingly I immediately ordered him a cabin with a very good apartment adjoining to it, and appointed him to eat in my own mess whenever he pleased or by himself, on particular days, when he thought fit.

And now it was impossible to conceal from him that we were indeed an English ship, and that I was the captain in chief, except, as has been said, upon occasion of coming to any particular town of Spain. I let him know I had a commission to make prize of the Spaniards, and appear their open enemy, but that I had chosen to treat them as friends in a way of commerce, as he had seen. He admired much the moderation I had used, and how I had avoided enriching myself by the spoil as I might have done; and he made me many compliments upon that head, which I excused hearing, and begged him to forbear. I told him we were Christians, and as we had made a very prosperous voyage I was resolved not to do any honest men the least injustice if I could avoid it.

But I must observe here that I did not enter immediately into all this confidence with him neither, nor all at once; neither did I let him into any part of it but under the same solemn engagements of secrecy that he had laid upon us, nor till I was come above eighty leagues south from Lima.

The first thing I took the freedom to speak to him upon was this: finding his habit a little offensive to our rude seamen, I took him into the cabin the very next day after we came to sea, and told him that I was obliged to mention to him what I knew he would soon perceive, namely, that we were all Protestants except three or four of the Frenchmen, and I did not know how agreeable that might be to him. He answered that he was not at all offended with that

part; that it was none of his business to inquire into any one's opinion any farther than they gave him leave; that if it was his business to cure the souls of men on shore, his business on board was to cure their bodies; and as for the rest, he would exercise no other function than that of a physician on board the ship without my leave.

I told him that was very obliging, but that then, for his own sake, I had a proposal to make to him, which was, whether it would be disagreeable to him to lay aside the habit of a religious and put on that of a gentleman, so to accommodate himself the more easily to the men on board, who perhaps might be rude to him in his habit, seamen being not always men of the most manners.

He thanked me very sincerely. He told me he had been in England as well as in Ireland, and that he went dressed there as a gentleman, and was ready to do so now if I thought fit, to avoid giving any offence, and added that he chose to do so; but then, smiling, said he was at a great loss, for he had no clothes. I bade him take no care about that, for I would furnish him, and immediately we dressed him up like an Englishman in a suit of very good clothes which belonged to one of our midshipmen that died. I gave him also a good wig and a sword, and he presently appeared upon the quarter-deck like a grave physician, and was called doctor.

From that minute, by whose contrivance we knew not, it went current among the seamen that the Spanish doctor was an Englishman and a Protestant, and only had put on the other habit to disguise himself and make his escape to us; and this was so universally believed that it held to the last day of the

whole voyage, for as soon as I met with it I took care that nobody that had it in their power would ever contradict it; and as for the doctor himself, he was very glad of it, and when he first heard of it said nothing could be more to his advantage, and that he would take care to humour it among the men as far as lay in his power.

However, the doctor took care of one thing, and earnestly desired we would all be mindful of it, viz., that he never offered to go on shore whatever port we came to afterwards, and what he desired of us was that none of the Spaniards might, by inquiry, hear upon any occasion of his being on board our ship; but above all, that none of our men, the officers especially, would ever come so much in reach of the Spaniards on shore as to put it into their power to seize upon them by reprisal, and so oblige us to deliver him up by exchange.

I went so far with him, and so did Captain Mirlotte also, as to assure him, that if any of the Spaniards should by any stratagem or force get any of our men, nay, though it were ourselves, into their hands, yet he should upon no condition whatever be delivered up. And, indeed, for this very reason we were very shy of going on shore at all; and as we had really no business anywhere but just for water and fresh provisions, which we also had taken in a very good store of at Lima, so, for our part, we put in nowhere at all in the coast of Peru, because there we might have been more particularly liable to the impertinences of the Spaniards' inquiry; as to force, we were furnished not to be in the least apprehensive of that.

Being thus, I say, resolved to have no more to do

with the coast of Peru, we stood off to sea, and the first land we made was a little unfrequented island in the latitude of seventeen degrees thirteen minutes, where our men went on shore in the boats three or four times to catch tortoises or turtles, being the first we had met with since we came from the East Indies; and here they took so many and had such a prodigious quantity of eggs out of them, that the whole company of both ships lived on them till within four or five days of our coming to the island of Juan Fernandez, which was our next port. Some of these tortoises were so large and so heavy that no single man could turn them, and sometimes as much as four men could carry to the boats.

We met with some bad weather after this which blew us off to sea, the wind blowing very hard at the south-east; but it was not so great a wind as to endanger us, though we lost sight of one another more in this storm than we had done in all our voyage. However, we were none of us in any great concern for it now, because we had agreed before that if we should lose one another, we should make the best of our way to the island of Juan Fernandez; and this we observed now so directly, that all of us shaping our course for the island, as soon as the storm abated, came in sight of one another long before we came thither; which you may be sure was very agreeable to us all.

We were, including the time of the storm, two hundred and eighteen days from Lima to the island of Juan Fernandez, having most of the time cross, contrary winds, and more bad weather than is usual in those seas. However, we were all in good condition, both ships and men.

Here we fell to the old trade of hunting of goats. And here our new doctor set some of our men to simpling, that is to say, to gather some physical herbs, which he let them see afterwards were very well worth their while. Our surgeons assisted and saw the plants, but had never observed the same kind in England. They gave me the names of them; and it is the only discovery in all my travels which I have not reserved so carefully as to publish for the advantage of others, and which I regret the omission of very much.

While we were here an odd accident gave me some uneasiness, which, however, did not come to much. Early in the grey of the morning, little wind and a smooth sea, a small frigate-built vessel, under Spanish colours, pennant flying, appeared off at sea, at the opening of the N.E. point of the island; as soon as she came fair with the road, she lay by as if she came to look into the port only, and when she perceived that we began to loose our sails to speak with her, she stretched away to the northward, and then altering her course, stood away N.E., using oars to assist her, and so got away.

Nothing could be more evident to us than that she came to look at us, nor could we imagine anything less; from whence we immediately concluded that we were discovered, and that our taking away the doctor had given a great alarm among the Spaniards (as indeed we afterwards came to understand it had done). But we came a little while afterwards to a better understanding about the frigate.

I was so uneasy about it that I resolved to speak with her if possible; so I ordered the Madagascar

ship, which of the two was rather a better sailer than our own, to stand in directly to the coast of Chili, and then to ply to the northward just in sight of the shore, till he came into the latitude of twenty-two; and if he saw nothing in all that run, then to come down again directly into the latitude of the island of Juan Fernandez, but keeping the distance of ten leagues off farther than before, and to ply off and on in that latitude five days, and then, if he did not meet with me, to stand in for the island.

While he did this, I did the same at the distance of nearly fifty leagues from the shore, being the distance which I thought the frigate kept in as she stood away from me. We made our cruise both of us very punctually, and I found him in the station I agreed on, and we both stood into the road again from whence we came.

We no sooner made the road, but we saw the frigate, as I called her, with another ship, at an anchor in the same road where she had seen us. And it was easy to see that they were both of them in a great surprise and hurry at our appearing, and that they were under sail in so very little time, as that we easily saw they had slipped their cables or cut away their anchors. They fired guns twice, which we found was a signal for their boats, which were on shore, to come on board; and soon after we saw three boats go off to them; though, as we understood afterwards, they were obliged to leave sixteen or seventeen of their men behind them, who being among the rocks catching of goats, either did not hear the signals, or could not come to their boats time enough.

When we saw them in this hurry we thought it

must be something extraordinary, and bore down directly upon them, having the weather-gauge.

They were ships of pretty good force and full of men; and when they saw we were resolved to speak with them, and that there was no getting away from us, they made ready to fight us; and putting themselves upon a wind, first stretching ahead to get the weather-gauge of us, when they thought they were pretty well, boldly tacked, and lay by for us, hoisting the English Ancient and Union Jack.

We had our French colours out till now; but being just, as we thought, going to engage, I told Captain Mirlotte I scorned to hide what nation I was of when I came to fight for the honour of our country; and besides, as these people had spread English colours, I ought to let them know what I was; that if they were really English and friends, we might not fight by mistake, and shed the innocent blood of our own countrymen; and that if they were rogues, and counterfeited their being English, we should soon perceive it.

However, when they saw us put out English colours, they knew not what to think of it, but lay by awhile to see what we would do. I was as much puzzled as they, for as I came nearer I thought they seemed to be English ships, as well by their bulk as by their way of working; and as I came still nearer I thought I could perceive so plainly by my glasses that they were English seamen, that I made a signal to our other ship, who had the van, and was just bearing down upon them, to bring to; and I sent my boat to him to know his opinion. He sent me word he did believe them to be English; and the more, said he, because they could be no other nation

but English or French, and the latter he was sure they were not; but since we were the largest ships, and that they might as plainly see us to be English as we could see them, he said he was for fighting them, because they ought to let us know who they were first. However, as I had fired a gun to bring him to, he lay by a little till we spoke thus together.

While this was doing we could see one of their boats come off with six oars, and two men (a lieutenant and a trumpeter it seems they were) sitting in the stern, and one of them holding up a flag of truce. We let them come forward, and when they came nearer so that we could hail them with a speaking-trumpet, we asked them what countrymen they were? and they answered Englishmen. Then we asked them whence their ship? Their answer was, from London, at which we bade them come on board, which they did, and we soon found that we were all countrymen and friends, and their boat went immediately back to let them know it. We found afterwards that they were mere privateers, fitted out from London also, but coming last from Jamaica; and we let them know no other of ourselves, but declined keeping company, telling them we were bound now upon traffic and not for purchase; that we had been at the East Indies, had made some prizes, and were going back thither again. They told us they were come into the South Seas for purchase, but that they had made little of it, having heard there were three large French men-of-war in those seas, in the Spanish service, which made them wish that they had not come about, and that they were still very doubtful what to do.

We assured them we had been the height of Lima, and that we had not heard of any men-of-war, but that we had passed for such ourselves, and perhaps were the ships they had heard of; for that we were three sail at first, and had sometimes carried French colours.

This made them very glad, for it was certainly so that we had passed for three French men-of-war; and they were so assured of it that they went afterwards boldly up the coast and made several very good prizes. We then found also that it was one of these ships that looked into the road, as above, when we were here before, and seeing us then with French colours, took us for the men-of-war they had heard of; and they added, that when we came in upon them again, they gave themselves up for lost men, but were resolved to have fought it out to the last, or rather to have sunk by our side, or blow themselves up, than be taken.

I was not at all sorry that we had made this discovery before we engaged, for the captains were two brave, resolute fellows, and had two very good ships under them; one of thirty-six guns, but able to have carried forty-four guns; the other, which we called the frigate-built ship, carried twenty-eight guns; and they were both full of men. Now, though we should not have feared their force, yet my case differed from what it did at first, for we had that on board that makes all men cowards, I mean money; of which we had such a cargo as few British ships ever brought out of those seas; and I was one of those that had now no occasion to run needless hazards; so that, in short, I was as well pleased without fighting as they could be; besides, I had other projects now in my head, and those of no less consequence than of plant-

ing a new world, and settling new kingdoms to the honour and advantage of my country; and many a time I wished heartily that all my rich cargo was safe at London; that my merchants were sharing the silver, and the gold, and the pearl among themselves; and that was I but safe on shore, with a thousand good families upon the south of Chili, and about fifteen hundred good soldiers, and arms for ten thousand more (of which by-and-by), and with the two ships I had now with me, I would not apprehend all the power of the Spaniards; I mean, that they could bring against me in the South Seas.

I had all these things, I say, in my head already, though nothing like to what I had afterwards, when I saw further into the matter myself. However, these things made me very glad that I had no occasion to engage those ships.

When we came thus to understand one another we went all into the road together, and I invited the captains of the two privateers on board me, where I treated them with the best I had, though I had no great dainties now, having been so long out of England. They invited me and Captain Mirlotte, and the captain of the Madagascar ship, in return, and indeed treated us very nobly.

After this we exchanged some presents of refreshments, and particularly they sent me a hogshead of rum, which was very acceptable; and I sent them in return a runlet of arrack, excusing myself that I had no great store. I sent them also a quantity of one hundredweight of nutmegs and cloves; but the most agreeable present I sent them was twenty pieces of my Madagascar dried beef, cured in the sun, the like of which they had never seen or tasted before; and,

without question, it is such an excellent way of curing beef, that if I were to be at Madagascar again, I would take in a sufficient quantity of beef so preserved to victual the whole ship for the voyage; and I leave it as a direction to all English seamen that have occasion to use East India voyages. I bought afterwards six hogsheads of rum of these privateers, for I found they were very well stored with liquors, whatever else they wanted.

We stayed here twelve or fourteen days, but took care, by agreement, that our men should never go on shore the same days that their men went on shore, or theirs when ours went, as well to avoid their caballing together as to avoid quarrelling, though the latter was the pretence. We agreed also not to receive on board any of our ships respectively any of the crews belonging to the other; and this was their advantage; for if we would have given way to that, half their men would, for aught I know, have come over to us.

While we lay here, one of them went a-cruising, finding the wind fair to run in for the shore, and in about five days she came back with a Spanish prize, laden with meal, cocoa, and a large quantity of biscuit ready baked. She was bound to Lima from Baldivia, or some port nearer, I do not remember exactly which. They had some gold on board, but not much, and had bought their lading at Santiago. As soon as we saw them coming in with a prize in tow, we put out our French colours, and gave notice to the privateers that it was for their advantage that we did so; and so indeed it was; for it would presently have alarmed all the country if such a fleet of privateers had appeared on the coast. We prevailed

on them to give us their Spanish prisoners, and to allow us to set them on shore, I assuring them I would not land them till I came to Baldivia, nor suffer them to have the least correspondence with anybody till they came thither; the said Spaniards also giving their parole of honour not to give any account of their being taken till fourteen days after they were on shore.

This being the farthest port south which the Spaniards are masters of in Chili, or indeed on the whole continent of America, they could not desire me to carry them any farther. They allowed us a quantity of meal out of their booty for the subsistence of the prisoners; and I bought a larger quantity more of it, there being more than they knew how to stow; and they did not resolve to keep the Spanish ship which they took. By this means I was doubly stocked with flour and bread; but as the first was very good, and well packed in cask, and very good jars, it was no burden. We bought also some of their cocoa, and made chocolate till our men gorged themselves with it, and would eat no more.

Having furnished ourselves here with goats' flesh, as usual, and taken in water sufficient, we left Juan Fernandez, and saw the cruisers go out the same tide, they steering N.N.E., and we S.S.E. They saluted us at parting, and we bid them good-bye in the same language.

While we were now sailing for the coast of Chili, with a fair wind and pleasant weather, my Spanish doctor came to me and told me he had a piece of news to acquaint me with, which, he said, he believed would please me very well, and this was, that one of the Spanish prisoners was a planter, as it is called in

the West Indies, or a farmer, as we should call it in England, of Villa Rica, a town built by the Spaniards near the foot of the Andes, above the town of Baldivia, and that he had entered into discourse with him upon the situation of those hills, the nature of the surface, the rivers, hollows, passages into them, &c., whether there were any valleys within the hills, of what extent, how watered, what cattle, what people, how disposed, and the like, and, in short, if there was any passing over them; and he told me, in a few words, that he found him to be a very honest, frank, open sort of person, who seemed to speak without reserve, without the least jealousy or apprehension, and that, in a word, he believed I might have an ample discovery from him of all that I desired to know.

I was very glad of this news, you may be sure, and it was not many hours before I made him bring the Spaniard into the great cabin to me, where I treated him very civilly, and gave him opportunity several times to see himself very well used; and indeed all the Spaniards in the ship were very thankful for my bringing them out of the hands of the privateers, and took all occasions to let us see it.

I said little the first time, but discoursed in general of America, of the greatness and opulence of the Spaniards there, the infinite wealth of the country, &c.; and I remember well, discoursing once of the great riches of the Spaniards in America, the silver mines of Potosi and other places, he turned short upon me, smiling, and said, "We Spaniards are the worst nation in the world that such a treasure as this could have belonged to; for if it had fallen into any other hands than ours," says he, "they would have

searched farther into it before now." I asked him what he meant by that. I said I thought they had searched it thoroughly enough, for that I believed no nation in the world could ever have spread such vast dominions, and planted a country of such a prodigious extent, and have not only kept the possession of it, but have maintained the government also, and even inhabited it, with so few people.

"Perhaps, seignior," says he, "you think, notwithstanding that opinion of yours, that we have many more people of our nation in New Spain than we have." "I do not know," said I, "how many you may have; but if I should believe you have as many here as in Old Spain, it would be but a few in comparison of the infinite extent of the king of Spain's dominions in America." "And then," added he, "I assure you, seignior, there is not one Spaniard to a thousand acres of land, take one place with another, throughout New Spain."

"Very well," said I, "then I think the riches and wealth of America is very well searched, in comparison to the number of people you have to search after it." "No," says he, "it is not, neither; for the greatest number of our people live in that part where the wealth is not greatest, and where even the governor and viceroy enjoying a plentiful and luxurious life, they take no thought for the increase either of the king's revenues or the national wealth." This he spoke of the city of Mexico, whose greatness and the number of its inhabitants, he said, was a disease to the rest of the body. "And what think you, seignior," said he, "that in that one city, where is neither silver or gold but what is brought from the mountains of St. Clara, the mines at St. Augustine's

and Our Lady, some of which are an hundred leagues from it, and yet there are more Spaniards in Mexico than in both these two prodigious empires of Chili and Peru?"

I seemed not to believe him, and indeed I did not believe him at first, till he returned to me with a question: — "Pray, seignior capitain," says he, "how many Spaniards do you think there may be in this vast country of Chili?" I told him I could make no guess of the numbers; but without question there were many thousands, intimating that I might suppose near an hundred thousand; at which he laughed heartily, and assured me that there were not above two thousand five hundred in the whole kingdom, besides women and children and some few soldiers, which they looked upon as nothing to inhabitants, because they were not settled anywhere.

I was indeed surprised, and began to name some large places which I thought had singly more Spaniards in them than what he talked of. He presently ran over some of them, and naming Baldivia first, as the most southward, he asked me how many I thought were there? I told him about three hundred families. He smiled at me, and assured me there were not above three or four-and-fifty families in the whole place, and about twenty-five soldiers, although it was a fortification and a frontier. At Villa Rica, or the rich town where he lived, he said there might be about sixty families, and a lieutenant with twenty soldiers. In a word, we passed over the many places between, and came to the capital, Santiago, where, after I had supposed there were five thousand Spaniards, he protested to me there were not above eight hundred, including the vice-

roy's court, and including the families at Valparaiso, which is the seaport, and excluding only the soldiers, which, as he said, being the capital of the whole kingdom, might be about two hundred; and excluding the religious, who, he added, laughing, signified nothing to the planting a country, for they neither cultivated the land nor increased the people.

Our doctor, who was our interpreter, smiled at this, but merrily said, that was very true, or ought to be so; intimating that though the priests do not cultivate the land, yet they might chance to increase the people a little; but that was by the way. As to the number of inhabitants at Santiago, the doctor agreed with him, and said he believed he had said more than there was rather than less.

As then to the kingdom or empire of Peru, in which there are many considerable cities and places of note, such as Lima, Quito, Cusco la Plata, and others, besides the great number of towns on the sea-coasts, such as Port Arica, St. Miguel, Payta, Guyaquil, Truxillo, and many others.

He answered that it was true that the city of Lima, with the town of Callao, was much increased within a few years; and particularly of late by the settling of between three and four hundred French there, who came by the king of Spain's licence; but that before the coming of those gentlemen, at which he shook his head, the country was richer, though the inhabitants were not so many; and that, take it as it was now, there could not be reckoned above fifteen hundred families of Spaniards, excluding the soldiers and the clergy, which, as above, he reckoned nothing as to the planting the country.

We came then to discourse of the silver mines at Potosi, and here he supposed, as I did also, a very great number of people. "But, seignior," says he, "what people is it you are speaking of? There are many thousands of servants, but few masters; there is a garrison of four hundred soldiers, always kept in arms and in good order, to secure the place and keep the negroes and criminals who work in the mines in subjection;" but that there were not besides five hundred Spaniards, that is to say, men, in the whole place and its adjacents. So that, in short, he would not allow above seven thousand Spaniards in the whole empire of Peru, and two thousand five hundred in Chili; at the same time allowing twice as many as both these in the city of Mexico only.

After this discourse was over, I asked him what he inferred from it as to the wealth of the country not being discovered? He answered it was evident that it was for want of people that the wealth of the country lay hid; that there was infinitely more lay uninquired after than had yet been known; that there were several mountains in Peru equally rich in silver with that of Potosi; "and as for Chili," says he, "and the country where we live, there is more gold at this time in the mountains of the Andes, and more easy to come at, than in all the world besides. Nay," says he, with some passion, "there is more gold every year washed down out of the Andes of Chili into the sea and lost there, than all the riches that go from New Spain to Europe in twenty years amount to."

This discourse fired my imagination, you may be sure, and I renewed it upon all occasions, taking more or less time every day to talk with this Span-

iard upon the subject of cultivation of the lands, improvement of the country, and the like; always making such inquiries into the state of the mountains of the Andes as best suited my purpose, but yet so as not to give him the least intimation of my design.

One day, conversing with him again about the great riches of the country, and of the mountains and rivers as above, I asked him, that seeing the place was so rich, why were they not all princes, or as rich as princes, that dwelt there?

He shook his head, and said it was a great reproach upon them many ways; and when I pressed him to explain himself, he answered it was occasioned by two things, namely, pride and sloth. "Seignior," says he, "we have so much pride that we have no avarice, and we do not covet enough to make us work for it. We walk about sometimes," says he, "on the banks of the streams that come down from the mountains, and if we see a bit of gold lie on the shore, it may be we will vouchsafe to lay off our cloak and step forward to take it up; but if we were sure to carry home as much as we could stand under, we would not strip and go to work in the water to wash it out of the sand, or take the pains to get it together; nor perhaps dishonour ourselves so much as to be seen carrying a load, no, not for all the value of the gold itself."

I laughed then indeed, and told him he was disposed to jest with his countrymen, or to speak ironically; meaning that they did not take so much pains as was required to make them effectually rich, but that I supposed he would not have me understand him as he spoke. He said I might understand as

favourably as I pleased, but I should find the fact to be true if I would go up with him to Villa Rica when I came to Baldivia; and with that he made his compliment to me and invited me to his house.

I asked him, with a *con licentia*, seignior, that is, with pardon for so much freedom, that if he lived in so rich a country, and where there was so inexhaustible a treasure of gold, how he came to fall into this state of captivity, and what made him venture himself upon the sea to fall into the hands of pirates.

He answered that it was on the very foot of what he had been complaining of, and that having seen so much of the wealth of the country he lived in, and having reproached himself with that very indolence which he now blamed all his countrymen for, he had resolved, in conjunction with two of his neighbours the Spaniards, and men of good substance, to set to work in a place in the mountains where they had found some gold, and had seen much washed down by the water, and to find what might be done in a thorough search after the fund or mine of it, which they were sure was not far off; and that he was going to Lima, and from thence, if he could not be supplied, to Panama, to buy negroes for the work, that they might carry it on with the better success.

This was a feeling discourse to me, and made such an impression on me that I secretly resolved, that when I came to Baldivia, I would go up with this sincere Spaniard (for so I thought him to be, and so I found him), and would be an eye-witness to the discovery, which I thought was made to my hand, and which I found now I could make more effectual than by all the attempts I was like to make by second hand.

From this time I treated the Spaniard with more than ordinary courtesy, and told him if I was not captain of a great ship, and had a cargo upon me of other gentlemen's estates, he had said so much of those things that I should be tempted to give him a visit as he had desired, and see those monstrous mountains of the Andes.

He told me that if I would do him so much honour I should not be obliged to any long stay, that he would procure mules for me at Baldivia, and that I should go, not to his house only, but to the mountain itself and see all that I desired, and be back again in fourteen days at the farthest. I shook my head as if it could not be, but he never left importuning me; and once or twice, as if I had been afraid to venture myself with him, he told me he would send for his two sons and leave them in the ship as hostages for my safety.

I was fully satisfied as to that point, but did not let him know my mind yet; but every day we dwelt upon the same subject, and I travelled through the mountains and valleys so duly in every day's discourse with him, that when I afterwards came to the places we had talked of, it was as if I had looked over them in a map before.

I asked him if the Andes were a mere wall of mountains, contiguous and without intervals and spaces like a fortification or boundary to a country, or whether they lay promiscuous and distant from one another, and whether there lay any way over them into the country beyond them.

He smiled when I talked of going over them. He told me they were so infinitely high that no human creature could live upon the top; and withal so steep

and so frightful, that if there was even a pair of stairs up on one side and down on the other, no man alive would dare to mount up or venture down; but that, as for the notion of the hills being contiguous, like a wall that had no gates, that was all fabulous; that there were several fair entrances in among the mountains, and large, pleasant, and fruitful valleys among the hills, with pleasant rivers and numbers of inhabitants, and cattle and provisions of all sorts; and that some of the most delightful places to live in that were in the whole world were among those valleys, in the very centre of the highest and most dreadful mountains.

"Well," said I, "seignior, but how do they go out of one valley into another? And whither do they go at last?" He answered me, those valleys are always full of pleasant rivers and brooks which fall from the hills, and are formed generally into one principal stream to every vale, and that as these must have their outlets on one side of the hills or on the other, so following the course of those streams, one is always sure to find the way out of one valley into another, and at last out of the whole into the open country; so that it was very frequent to pass from one side to the other of the whole body of the mountains, and not go much higher up hill or down hill, compared to the hills in other places. It was true, he said, there was no abrupt visible parting in the mountains, that should seem like a way cut through from the bottom to the top, which would be indeed frightful; but that as they pass from some of the valleys to others, there are ascents and descents, windings and turnings, sloping up and sloping down, where we may stand on those little ridges, and see the waters on

one side run to the west, and on the other side to the east.

I asked him what kind of a country was on the other side, and how long time it would take up to go through from one side to the other? He told me there were ways indeed that were more mountainous and uneasy, in which men kept upon the sides or declivity of the hills, in which the natives would go and guide others to go, and so might pass the whole ridge of the Andes in eight or nine days; but that those ways were esteemed very dismal, lonely, and dangerous, because of wild beasts; but that through the valleys the way was easy and pleasant, and perfectly safe, only farther about; and that those ways a man might be sixteen or seventeen days going through.

I laid up all this in my heart to make use of as I should have occasion; but I acknowledge that it was surprising to me, as it was so perfectly agreeing with the notion that I always entertained of those mountains, of the riches of them, the facility of access to and from them, and the easy passage from one side to another.

The next discourse I had with him upon this subject I began thus. "Well, seignior," said I, "we are now come quite through the valleys and passages of the Andes, and methinks I see a vast open country before me on the other side; pray tell me, have you ever been so far as to look into that part of the world, and what kind of a country is it?"

He answered gravely that he had been far enough several times to look at a distance into the vast country I spake of. "And such indeed it is," said he; "and as we come upon the rising part of the

hills we see a great way, and a country without end; but as to any descriptions of it, I can say but little," added he, "only this, that it is a very fruitful country on that side next the hill. What it is farther I know not."

I asked him if there were any considerable rivers in it, and which way they generally run? He said it could not be but that from such a ridge of mountains as the Andes, there must be a great many rivers on that side, as there were apparently on this; and that, as the country was infinitely larger, and their course in proportion longer, it would necessarily follow that those small rivers would run one into another, and so form great navigable rivers, as was the case in the Rio de la Plata, which originally sprung from the same hills about the city La Plata in Peru, and swallowing up all the streams of less note, became, by the mere length of its course, one of the greatest rivers in the world. That, as he observed most of those rivers ran rather south-eastward than northward, he believed they ran away to the sea, a great way farther to the south than the Rio de la Plata; but as to what part of the coast they might come to the sea in, that he knew nothing of.

This account was so rational that nothing could be more; and was indeed extremely satisfactory.

It was also very remarkable that this agreed exactly with the accounts before given me by the two Chilian Indians or natives which I had on board, and with whom I still continued to discourse as occasion presented; but who at this time I removed into the Madagascar ship, to make room for these Spanish prisoners.

I observed the Spaniard was made very sensible by

my doctor of the obligation both he and his fellow-prisoners were under to me, in my persuading the privateers to set them at liberty, and in undertaking to carry them home to that part of Spain from whence they came; for as they had lost their cargo their voyage seemed to be at an end. The sense of the favour, I say, which I had done him, and was still doing him, in the civil treatment which I gave him, made this gentleman — for such he was in himself and in his disposition, whatever he was by family, for that I knew nothing of — I say, it made him exceeding importunate with me and with my doctor, who spoke Spanish perfectly well, to go with him to Villa Rica.

I made him no promise, but talked at a distance. I told him if he had lived by the sea and I could have sailed to his door in my ship I would have made him a visit. He returned that he wished he could make the river of Baldivia navigable for me, that I might bring my ship up to his door, and he would venture to say that neither me nor all my ship's company should starve while we were with him. In the interval of these discourses I asked my doctor his opinion, whether he thought I might trust this Spaniard if I had a mind to go up and see the country for a few days?

"Seignior," says he, "the Spaniards are, in some respects, the worst nation under the sun; they are cruel, inexorable, uncharitable, voracious, and in several cases treacherous; but in two things they are to be depended upon beyond all the nations in the world, that is to say, when they give their honour to perform anything, and when they have a return to make for any favour received;" and here he enter-

tained me with a long story of a merchant of Cartagena, who in a sloop was shipwrecked at sea, and was taken up by an English merchant on board a ship bound to London from Barbadoes or some other of our islands; that the English merchant meeting another English ship bound to Jamaica, put the Spanish merchant on board him, paid him for his passage, and obliged him to set him on shore on the Spanish coast, as near to Cartagena as he could. This Spanish merchant could never rest until he found means to ship himself from Cartagena to the Havanna on the galleons, from thence to Cadiz in Old Spain, and from thence to London, to find out the English merchant, and make him a present to the value of a thousand pistoles for saving his life, and for his civil returning him to Jamaica, &c. Whether the story was true or not, his inference from it was just, namely, that a Spaniard never forgot a kindness. "But take it withal," says the doctor, "that I believe it as much the effect of their pride as of their virtue; for at the same time," said he, "they never forget an ill turn any more than they do a good one, and they frequently entail their enmities on their families, and prosecute the revenge from one generation to another, so that the heir has with the estate of his ancestors all the family broils upon his hands as he comes to his estate."

From all this he inferred that as this Spaniard found himself so very much obliged to me, I might depend upon it that he had so much pride in him, that if he could pull down the Andes for me to go through, and I wanted it, he would do it for me; and that nothing would be a greater satisfaction to him than to find some way or other how to requite me.

All these discourses shortened our voyage, and we arrived fair and softly (for it was very good weather and little wind) at Tucapel, or the river Imperial, within ten leagues of Baldivia, that is to say, off Cape Bonifacio, which is the north point of the entrance into the river of Baldivia; and here I took one of the most unaccountable, and I must needs acknowledge unjustifiable, resolutions that ever any commander intrusted with a ship of such force and a cargo of such consequence adventured upon before, and which I by no means recommend to any commander of a ship to imitate; and this was, to venture up into the country above one hundred and fifty miles from my ship, leaving the success of the whole voyage, the estates of my employers, and the richest ship and cargo that ever came out of those seas, to the care and fidelity of two or three men. Such was the unsatisfied thirst of new discoveries which I brought out of England with me, and which I nourished at all hazards to the end of the voyage.

However, though I condemn myself in the main for the rashness of the undertaking, yet let me do myself so much justice as to leave it on record too, that I did not run this risk without all the needful precautions for the safety of the ship and cargo.

And first, I found out a safe place for the ships to ride; and this neither in the river of Tucapel nor in the river of Baldivia, but in an opening or inlet of water without a name, about a league to the south of Tucapel, embayed and secured from almost all the winds that could blow; here the ships lay easy, with water enough, having about eleven fathoms

good holding ground, and about half a league from shore.

I left the supercargo and my chief mate, also a kinsman of my own, a true sailor, who had been a midshipman, but was now a lieutenant; I say, to those I left the command of both my ships, but with express orders not to stir nor unmoor upon any account whatever, life and death excepted, until my return, or till, if I was dead, they heard what was become of me; no, though they were to stay there six months, for they had provisions enough, and an excellent place for watering lay just by them; and I made all the men swear to me that they would make no mutiny or disorder, but obey my said kinsman in one ship, and the supercargo in the other, in all things except removing from that place; and that if they should command them to stir from thence, they would not so much as touch a sail or a rope.

When I had made all these conditions, and told my men that the design I went upon was for the good of their voyage, for the service of the owners, and should, if it succeeded, be for all their advantages, I asked them if they were all willing I should go, to which they all answered that they were very willing, and would take the same care of the ships, and of all things belonging to them, as if I were on board. This encouraged me greatly, and I now resolved nothing should hinder me.

Having thus concluded everything, then, and not till then, I told my Spaniard that I had almost resolved to go along with him; at which he appeared exceedingly pleased, and indeed in a surprise of joy. I should have told you that before I told him this, I

had set all the rest of the prisoners on shore at their own request, just between the port of Tucapel and the Bay of the Conception, except two men, who, as he told me, lived in the open country beyond Baldivia, and as he observed, were very glad to be set on shore with him, so to travel home, having lost what little they had in the ship, and to whom he communicated nothing of all the discourse we had had of the affair of the mountains.

I also dismissed now the two Chilian Indians, but not without a very good reward, proportioned to not their trouble and time only, but proportioned to what I seemed to expect of them, and filling them still with expectations that I would come again and take a journey with them into the mountains.

And now it became necessary that I should use the utmost freedom with my new friend the Spaniard, being, as I told him, to put my life in his hands and the prosperity of my whole adventure, both ship and ship's company.

He told me he was sensible that I did put my life in his hands, and that it was a very great token of confidence in him, even such a one that he, being a stranger to me, had no reason to expect: but he desired me to consider that he was a Christian, not a savage; that he was one I had laid the highest obligation upon in voluntarily taking him out of the hands of the freebooters, where he might have lost his life; and in the next place, he said, it was some argument that he was a gentleman, and that I should find him to be a man of honour; and lastly, that it did not appear that he could make any advantage of me, or that he could get anything by using me ill; and if even that was no argument, yet I should find

when I came to his house that he was not in a condition to want anything that might be gained, so much as to procure it by such a piece of villainy and treachery as to betray and destroy the man that had saved his life, and brought him out of the hands of the devil safe to his country and family, when he might have been carried away, God knows whither. But to conclude all, he desired me to accept the offer he had made me at sea, viz., that he would send for his two sons, and leave them on board the ship as hostages for my safety, and desired they might be used on board no otherwise than I was used with him in the country.

I was ashamed to accept such an offer as this, but he pressed it earnestly, and importuned the doctor to move me to accept it, telling him that he should not be easy if I did not, so that, in short, the doctor advised me to agree to it; and accordingly he hired a messenger and a mule, and sent away for his two sons to come to him; and such expedition the messenger made that in six days he returned with the two sons and three servants, all on horseback. His two sons were very pretty well-behaved youths, who appeared to be gentlemen in their very countenances; the eldest was about thirteen years old, and the other about eleven. I treated them on board, as I had their father, with all possible respect; and having entertained them two days, left order that they should be treated in the same manner when I was gone; and to this I added aloud, that their father might hear it, that whenever they had a mind to go away they should let them go. But their father laid a great many solemn charges upon them that they should not stir out of the ship till I came back safe, and that I

gave them leave; and he made them promise that they would not; and the young gentlemen kept their word so punctually, that when our supercargo, whom I left in command, offered to let them go on shore several times to divert them with shooting and hunting, they would not stir out of the ship, and did not till I came back again.

Having gone this length, and made everything ready for my adventure, we set out, Captain Mirlotte, the Spanish doctor, the old mutineer, that was my second mate, and who was now captain of the Madagascar ship, and myself, with two midshipmen, whom we took as servants, but who I resolved to make the directors of the main enterprise. As to the number, I found my Spaniard made no scruple of that, if it had been half my ship's company.

We set out, some on horses, and some on mules, as we could get them; but the Spaniard and myself rode on two very good horses, being the same that his two sons came on. We arrived at a noble country seat about a league short of the town, where at first I thought we had been only to put in for refreshment; but I soon found that it was really his dwelling-house, and where his family and servants resided.

Here we were received like princes, and with as much ceremony as if he had been a prince that entertained us. The major-domo, or steward of his house, received us, took in our baggage, and ordered our two servants to be taken care of.

I need not tell you that the Spaniard did all that pride and ostentation was capable of inspiring him with to entertain us; and the truth is, he could not have lived in a country in the world more capable of gratifying his pride; for here, without anything uncommon,

he was able to show more gold plate than many good families in our country have of silver; and as for silver, it quite eclipsed the appearance, or rather took away the very use of pewter, of which we did not see one vessel, no, not in the meanest part of his house. It is true, I believe, the Spaniard had not a piece of plate or of any household furniture which we did not see, except what belonged to the apartment of his wife; and it is to be observed that the women never appeared, except at a distance and in the gardens, and then being under veils we could not know the lady from her women, or the maids from the mistress.

We were lodged every one in separate apartments, very well furnished, but two of them very nobly indeed; though all the materials for furniture must be there at an excessive price. The way of lodging upon quilts and in beds, made pavilion-wise, after the Spanish custom, I need not describe; but it surprised me to see the rooms hung with very rich tapestries in a part of the world where they must cost so dear.

We had Chilian wine served us up in round gold cups, and water in large silver decanters that held at least five quarts a piece; these stood in our chamber. Our chocolate was brought us up in the same manner in deep cups, all of gold, and it was made in vessels all of silver.

It would be troublesome to the very reader to interrupt my account with the relation of all the fine things he had in his house, and I could not be persuaded but that he had borrowed all the plate in the town to furnish out his sideboard and table; but my doctor told me it was nothing but what was very usual among them that were men of any substance, as it was apparent he was; and that the silversmiths

at Santiago supplied them generally with their plate ready wrought, in exchange, with allowance for the quality, for the gold which they found in the mountains, or in the brooks and streams which came from the mountains, into which the hasty showers of winter rain frequently washed down pretty large lumps; and others, which were smaller, they washed out of the sands by the ordinary methods of washing of ore.

I was better satisfied in this particular, when the next day, talking to our new landlord about the mountains and the wealth of them, I asked him if he could show me any of the gold which was usually washed out of the hills by the rain, in the natural figure in which it was found. He smiled, and told me yes, he would show us a little; and with that carried us up into a kind of a closet, where he had a great variety of odd things gathered up about the mountains and rivers, such as fine shells, strange stones in the form of stars, heavy pieces of ore, but such as neither he nor any of us could tell what they were, and the like; and after this he pulled out a great leather bag, which had I believe near fifty pounds' weight in it. "Here, seignior," says he, "here is some of the dirt of the earth;" and turning it out upon the table it was easy to see that it was all gold, though the pieces were of different forms, and some scarce looking like gold at all, being so mixed with the spar, or with earth, that it did not appear so plain; but in every bit there was something of the clear gold to be seen, and the smaller the lumps the purer the gold appeared.

I was surprised at the quantity more than at the thing itself, having, as I have said, seen the gold

which the Indians found in the countries I have described, which seemed to have little or no mixture; but then I was to have considered that what those Indians gathered was farther from the hills which it came from, and that those rough irregular pieces would not drive so far in the water, but would lodge themselves in the earth and sands of the rivers nearer home; and also that the Indians, not knowing how to separate the gold by fire from the dross and mixture above, did not think those rough pieces worth their taking up, whereas the Spaniards here understood much better what they were about.

But to return to the closet. When he had shown us this leather pouch full, he sweeps it by to one side of the table, which had ledges round it to keep it from running off, and takes up another bag full of large pieces of stone, great lumps of earth, and pieces of various shapes, all of which had some gold in them, but not to be gotten out but by fire. These, he told us, their servants bring them home as they find them in the mountains, lying loose here and there, when they run after their cattle.

But still I asked him if they found no pieces of pure gold; upon this he turned to a great old cabinet full of pretty large drawers, and pulling out one drawer, he showed us a surprising number of pieces of pure clean gold, some round, some long, some flat, some thick, all of irregular shapes, and worked roundish at the ends with rolling along; some of these weighed a quarter of an ounce, some more and some less, and as I lifted the drawer I believe there could not be less than between twenty and thirty pounds' weight of it.

Then he pulled out another drawer which was

almost full of the same kind of drug, but as small as sand, the biggest not so big as pins' heads, and which might very properly be called gold dust.

After this sight a man was to be surprised at nothing he could see. I asked him how long such a treasure might be amassing together in this country; he told me that was according to the pains they might take in the search; that he had been twelve years here, and had done little or nothing; but had he had twenty negroes to have set on work, as he might have had, he might have had more than this in one year. I asked him how much gold in weight he thought there might be in all this he had shown me; he told me he could not tell; that they never troubled themselves to weigh, but when the silversmith at Santiago came to bring home any vessel, or when the merchants from Lima came to Baldivia with European goods, then they bought what they wanted of them; that they were sensible they gave excessive dear for everything, even ten or twenty for one. But as gold, he said, was the growth of that country, and the other things, such as cloth, linen, fine silks, &c., were the gold of Europe, they did not think much to give what they asked for those things. In short, I found that the people in this country, though they kept large plantations in their hands, had great numbers of cattle, ingenios, as they call them, for making sugar, and land under management, for the maintenance of themselves and families; yet did not wholly neglect the getting gold out of the mountains, where it was in such plenty; and therefore it seems the town adjacent is called Villa Rica, or the Rich Town, being seated, as it

were, at the foot of the mountains, and in the richest part of them.

After I had sufficiently admired the vast quantity of gold he had, he made signs to the doctor that I should take any piece or any quantity that I pleased, but thought I might take it as an affront to have him offer me any particular small parcel. The doctor hinted it to me, and I bade him return him thanks; but to let him know that I would by no means have any of that, but that I would be glad to take up a piece or two such as chance should present to me in the mountains, that I might show in my own country, and tell them that I took it up with my own hands. He answered he would go with me himself; and doubted not but to carry me where I should fully satisfy my curiosity, if I would be content to clamber a little among the rocks.

I now began to see plainly that I had no manner of need to have taken his sons for hostages for my safety, and would fain have sent for them back again, but he would by no means give me leave, so I was obliged to give that over. A day or two after I desired of him that he would give me leave to send for one more person from the ships, who I had a great mind should see the country with me, and to send for some few things that I should want, and withal to satisfy my men that I was safe and well.

This he consented to; so I sent away one of the two midshipmen, who I called my servants, and with him two servants of the Spaniard, my landlord, as I called him, with four mules and two horses. I gave my midshipman my orders and directions under my hand to my supercargo what to do, for I was resolved to be even with my Spaniard for all his good usage

of me; the midshipman was gone ten days, for they came back pretty well laden, as you shall hear, and the men were obliged to come all on foot.

All the while they were gone my landlord and I spent in surveying the country and viewing his plantation. As for the city of Villa Rica, it was not the most proper to go there in public; and the doctor knew that as well as the Spaniard; and therefore, though we went several times incognito, yet it was of no consequence to me, neither did I desire it.

One night I had a very strange fright here, and behaved myself very much like a fool about it. The case was this: I waked in the middle of the night, and chancing to open my eyes I saw a great light of fire, which to me seemed as if the house or some part of it had been on fire; I, as if I had been at Wapping or Rotherhithe, where people are always terrified with such things, jumped out of bed and called my friend Captain Mirlotte, and cried out "Fire, fire!" The first thing I should have thought of on this occasion should have been that the Spaniard did not understand what the words "Fire, fire!" meant; and if I expected they should understand me, I should have cried "Fuego, fuego!"

However, Captain Mirlotte got up and my Madagascar captain, for we all lay near one another, and with the noise they waked the whole house, and my landlord, as he afterwards confessed, began to suspect some mischief; his steward having come to his chamber door and told him that the strangers were up in arms, in which mistake we might all have had our throats cut, and the poor Spaniard not to blame neither.

But our doctor coming hastily in to me, unriddled the whole matter, which was this, that a volcano, or burning vent among the hills, being pretty near the Spanish side of the country, as there are many of them in the Andes, had flamed out that night, and gave such a terrible light in the air as made us think the fire had at least been in the out-houses, or in part of the house, and accordingly had put me in such a fright.

Upon this, having told me what it was, he ran away to the Spanish servants, and told them what the meaning of it all was, and bade them go and satisfy their master, which they did, and all was well again; but as for me, I sat almost all the night staring out at the window at the eruption of fire upon the hills, and the like bonfire I had never seen before, I assure you.

I sincerely begged my landlord's pardon for disturbing his house, and asked him if those eruptions were frequent. He said no, they were not frequent, for they were constant, either in one part of the hills or another, and that in my passing the mountains I should see several of them. I asked him if they were not alarmed with them, and if they were not attended with earthquakes. He said he believed that among the hills themselves they might have some shakings of the earth, because sometimes they should find pieces of the rocks break off and fall down, and that it was among those little fractures that sometimes pieces of stone were found which had gold interspersed in them, as if they had been melted and run together, of which he had shown me some; but that as for earthquakes in the country, he had never heard of any since he came thither, which had

been upwards of fifteen years, including three years that he dwelt at Santiago.

One day, being out on horseback with my landlord, we rode up close to the mountains, and he showed me at a distance an entrance, as he called it, into them, frightful enough indeed, as you shall hear in its place. Then he told me that was the way he intended to carry me when he should go to show me the highest hills in the world; but he turned short, and smiling, said it should not be yet, for though he had promised me a safe return, and left hostages for it, yet he had not capitulated for time.

I told him he need not capitulate with me for time, for if I had not two ships to stay my coming, and between three and four hundred men eating me up all the while, I did not know whether I would ever go away again or no, if he would give me house-room. He told me as to that, he had sent my men some victuals, so that they would not starve if I did not come back for some days. This surprised me a little, and I discovered it in my countenance. "Nay, seignior," says he, "I have only sent them some victuals to maintain my two hostages, for, you know, they must not want." It was not good manners in me to ask what he had sent; but I understood, as soon as my midshipman returned, that he had sent down sixteen cows, or runts, I know not what to call them, but black cattle; thirty hogs, thirteen large Peruvian sheep, as big as great calves, and three casks of Chilian wine, with an assurance that they should have more provisions when that was spent.

I was amazed at all this munificence of the Spaniard, and very glad I was that I had sent my midshipman for the things I intended to present him again, for I

was as well able to requite him for a large present as he was to make it, and had resolved it before I knew he had sent anything to the ship; so that this exchanging of presents was but a kind of generous barter or commerce; for as to gold, we had either of us so much that it was not at all equal in value to what we had to give on both sides, as we were at present situated.

In short, my midshipman returned with the horses and servants; and when we had brought what I had sent for into a place which I desired the Spaniard to allow me to open my things in, I sent my doctor to desire the Spaniard to let me speak with him.

I told him first that he must give me his parole of honour not to take amiss what I had to say to him; that it was the custom in our country at any time to make presents to the ladies, with the knowledge and consent of their husbands or parents, without any evil design or without giving any offence, but that I knew it was not so among the Spaniards; that I had not had the honour yet either to see his lady or his daughter, but that I had heard he had a lady and a daughter also; however, that if he pleased to be the messenger of a trifle I had caused my man to bring, and would present it for me, and not take it as an offence, he should see beforehand what it was, and I should content myself with his accepting it in their behalf.

He told me, smiling, he did not bring me thither to take any presents of me; I had already done enough, in that I had given him his liberty, which was the most valuable gift in the world; and as to his wife, I had already made her the best present I was able, having given her back her husband; that it is true

it was not the custom of the Spaniards to let their wives appear in any public entertainment of friends, but that he had resolved to break through that custom, and that he had told his wife what a friend I had been to her family, and that she should thank me for it in public; and that then what present I had designed for her, since I would be a maker of presents, she should do herself the honour to take it with her own hands, and he would be very far from mistaking them or taking it ill from his wife.

As this was the highest compliment he was able to make me, the more he was obliging in the manner, for he returned in about two hours, leading his wife into the room by the hand, and his daughter following.

I must confess I was surprised, for I did not expect to have seen such a sight in America. The lady's dress indeed I cannot describe, but she was really a charming woman in her person, of about forty years of age, and covered over with emeralds and diamonds —I mean as to her head. She was veiled till she came into the room, but gave her veil to her woman when her husband took her by the hand. Her daughter I took to be about twelve years old, which the Spaniards count marriageable; she was pretty, but not so handsome as her mother.

After the compliments on both sides, my landlord, as I now called him, told her very handsomely what a benefactor I had been to her family by redeeming him from the hands of villains; and she, turning to me, thanked me in the most obliging manner, and with a modest, graceful way of speech, such as I cannot represent, and which indeed I did not think the Spaniards, who are said to be so haughty, had been acquainted with.

I then desired the doctor to tell the Spaniard, her husband, that I desired his lady to accept a small present which my midshipman had brought for her from the ship, and which, with his words, I took in my hand, and the Spaniard led his wife on to take it; and I must needs say it was not a mean present, besides its being of ten times the value in that place as it would have been at London; and I was now very glad that, as I mentioned above, I always reserved a small quantity of all sorts of goods unsold, that I might have them to dispose of as occasion should offer.

First, I presented her with a very fine piece of Dutch holland, worth in London about seven shillings an ell, and thirty-six ells in length, and worth in Chili, to be sure, fifteen pieces of eight per ell at least; or it was rather likely that all the kingdom of Chili had not such another.

Then I gave her two pieces of China damask and two pieces of China silks called atlasses, flowered with gold; two pieces of fine muslin, one flowered, the other plain, and a piece of very fine chintz, or printed calico; also a large parcel of spices, made up in blue papers, being about six pounds of nutmegs, and about twice as many cloves.

And lastly, to the young lady I gave one piece of damask, two pieces of China taffety, and a piece of fine striped muslin.

After all this was delivered, and the ladies had received them and given them their women to hold, I pulled out a little box in which I had two couple of large pearls, of that pearl which I mentioned we found at the Pearl Islands, very well matched for earrings, and gave the lady one pair and the daughter

the other; and now, I think, I had made a present fit for an ambassador to carry to a prince.

The ladies made all possible acknowledgment, and we had the honour that day to dine with them in public. My landlord the Spaniard told me I had given them such a present as the Viceroy of Mexico's lady would have gone fifty leagues to have received.

But I had not done with my host, for after dinner I took him into the same room, and told him I hoped he did not think I had made all my presents to the ladies, and had nothing left to show my respect to him; and therefore, first I presented him with three negro men, which I had bought at Callao for my own use, but knew I could supply myself again in my way home at a moderate price; in the next place, I gave him three pieces of black Colchester baize, which, though they are coarse ordinary things in England that a footman would scarce wear, are a habit for a prince in that country. I then gave him a piece of very fine scarlet English serge which was really very valuable in England, but much more there; and another piece of crimson broadcloth, and six pieces of fine silk druggets for his two sons, and thus I finished my presents. The Spaniard stood still and looked on all the while I was laying out my presents to him, as one in a transport, and said not one word till all was over; but then he told me very gravely that it was now time for him to turn me out of his house. "For, seignior," says he, "no man ought to suffer himself to be obliged beyond his power of return, and I have no possible way of making any return to you equal to such things as these."

It is true the present I had made him, if it was

to be rated by the value of things in the country where it then was, would have been valued at six or seven hundred pounds sterling; but to reckon them as they might cost me, did not altogether amount to above one hundred pounds, except the three negroes, which indeed cost me at Lima one thousand two hundred pieces of eight.

He was as sensible of the price of those negroes as I was of the occasion he had of them and of the work he had to do for them; and he came to me about an hour after, and told me he had looked over all the particulars of the noble presents which I had made them, and though the value was too great for him to accept, or for any man to offer him, yet since I had been at so much trouble to send for the things, and that I thought him worthy such a bounty, he was come back to tell me that he accepted thankfully all my presents, both to himself and to his wife and daughter, except only the three negroes, and as they were bought in the country, and were the particular traffic of the place, he could not take them as a present, but would be equally obliged, and take it for as much a favour, if I would allow him to pay for them.

I smiled, and told him he and I would agree upon that, for he did not yet know what favours I had to ask of him and what expense I should put him to; that I had a great design in my view which I was to crave his assistance in, and which I had not yet communicated to him, in which he might perhaps find that he would pay dear enough for all the little presents I had made him; and in the meantime to make him easy as to the three negro men, I gave him my word that he should pay for them; only not yet.

He could have nothing to object against an offer of this kind, because he could not guess what I meant, but gave me all the assurances of service and assistance that lay in his power in anything that I might have to do in that country.

But here, by the way, you are to understand that all this was carried on with a supposition that we acted under a commission from the king of France; and though he knew many of us were English, and that I was an Englishman in particular, yet as we had such a commission and produced it, we were Frenchmen in that sense to him, nor did he entertain us upon any other footing.

The sequel of the story will also make it sufficiently appear that I did not make such presents as these in mere ostentation, or only upon the compliment of a visit to a Spanish gentleman, any more than I would leave my ship and a cargo of such value in the manner I had done to make a tour into the country, if I had not had views sufficient to justify such beginnings, and the consequence of these things will be the best apology for me to those who shall have patience to put them all together.

We had now spent a fortnight and something more, in ceremony and civilities, and in now and then taking a little tour about the fields and towards the mountains. However, even in this way of living, I was not so idle as I seemed to be, for I had not only made due observations of all the country which I saw, but informed myself sufficiently of the parts which I did not see. I found the country not only fruitful in the soil, but wonderfully temperate and agreeable in its climate; the air, though hot, according to its proper latitude, yet that heat so moderated

by the cool breezes from the mountains, that it was rather equal to the plain countries in other parts of the world in the latitude of fifty, than to a climate in thirty-eight to forty degrees.

This gave the inhabitants the advantages, not only of pleasant and agreeable living, but also of a particular fertility which hot climates are not blessed with, especially as to corn, the most necessary of all productions, such as wheat, I mean European wheat, or English wheat, which grew here as well and as kindly as in England; which in Peru and the Isthmus of America will by no means thrive for want of moisture and cold.

Here were also an excellent middling breed of black cattle, which they fed under the shade of the mountains, and on the banks of the rivers, till they came to be very fat. In a word, here were, or might be produced, all the plants, fruits, and grain of a temperate climate; at the same time, the orange, lemon, citron, pomegranate, and figs, with a moderate care, would come to a very tolerable perfection in their gardens, and even sugar-canes in some places, though these last but rarely, and not without great art in the cultivation, and chiefly in gardens.

They assured me that farther southward, beyond Baldivia, and to the latitude of forty-seven to forty-nine, the lands were esteemed richer than where we now were; the grass more strengthening and nourishing for the cattle, and that consequently the black cattle, horses, and hogs were all of a larger breed; but that as the Spaniards had no settlement beyond Baldivia to the south, so they did not find the natives so tractable as where we then were; where, though the Spaniards were but few, and the strength they had

was but small, yet, as upon any occasion they had always been assisted with forces sufficient from Santiago, and if need were even from Peru, so the natives had always been subdued, and had found themselves obliged to submit, and that now they were entirely reduced, and were, and had been for several years, very easy and quiet. Besides, the plentiful harvest which they made of gold from the mountains (which appeared to be the great allurement of the Spaniards) had drawn them rather to settle here than farther southward, being naturally addicted, as my new landlord confessed to me, to reap the harvest which had the least labour and hazard attending it, and the most profit.

Not but that at the same time he confessed that he believed and had heard, that there was as much gold to be found farther to the south, as far as the mountains continued; but that, as I have said, the natives were more troublesome and more dangerous than where they now lived, and that the king of Spain did not allow troops sufficient to civilise and reduce them.

I asked him concerning the natives in the country where we were. He told me they were the most quiet and inoffensive people, since the Spaniards had reduced them by force, that could be desired; that they were not indeed numerous or warlike, the warlike and obstinate part of them having fled farther off to the south, as they were overpowered by the Spaniards; that for those that were left, they lived secure under the protection of the Spanish governor; that they fed cattle and planted the country, and sold the product of their lands very much to the Spaniards, but that they did not covet to be rich,

only to obtain clothes, arms, powder and shot, which, however, they let them have but sparingly, and with good assurance of their fidelity. I asked him if they were not treacherous and perfidious, and if it was not dangerous trusting themselves among them in the mountains and among the retired places where they dwelt. He told me that it was quite the contrary, that they were so honest and so harmless that he would at any time venture to send his two sons into the mountains a-hunting, with each of them a Chilian for his guide, and let them stay with the said natives two or three nights and days at a time, and be in no uneasiness about them, and that none of them were ever known to do any foul or treacherous thing by the Spaniards since he had been in that country.

Having thus fully informed myself of things, I began now to think it was high time to see the main sight which I came to inquire after, viz., the passages of the mountains, and the wonders that were to be discovered on the other side; and accordingly I took my patron, the Spaniard, by himself, and told him that as I was a traveller, and was now in such a remote part of the world, he could not but think I should be glad to see everything extraordinary that was to be seen, that I might be able to give some account of the world when I came into Europe, better and differing from what others had done who had been there before me; and that I had a great mind, if he would give me his assistance, to enter into the passages and valleys which he had told me so much of, in the mountains, and if it was possible — which indeed I had always thought it was not — to take a prospect of the world on the other side.

He told me it was not a light piece of work, and perhaps the discoveries might not answer my trouble, there being little to be seen but steep precipices, inhospitable rocks, and unpassable mountains immuring us on every side, innumerable rills and brooks of water falling from the cliffs, making a barbarous and unpleasant sound, and that sound echoed and reverberated from innumerable cavities and hollows among the rocks, and these all pouring down into one middle stream, which we should always find on one side or other of us as we went, and that sometimes we should be obliged to pass those middle streams, as well as the rills and brooks on the sides, without a bridge, and at the expense of pulling off our clothes.

He told us that we should meet indeed with provisions enough, and with an innocent, harmless people, who, according to their ability, would entertain us very willingly, but that I, who was a stranger, would be sorely put to it for lodging, especially for so many of us.

However, he said as he had perhaps at first raised this curiosity in me by giving me a favourable account of the place, he would be very far from discouraging me now, and that if I resolved to go, he would not only endeavour to make everything as pleasant to me as he could, but that he and his major-domo would go along with me, and see us safe through and safe home again; but desired me not to be in too much haste, for that he must make some little preparation for the journey, which, as he told us, might perhaps take us up fourteen or sixteen days forward and as much back again; not, he said, that it was necessary that we should be so long going and coming, as that he supposed I would take time

to see everything which I might think worth seeing, and not be in so much haste as if I was sent express. I told him he was very much in the right; that I did not desire to make a thing which I expected so much pleasure in, be a toil to me more than needs must; and, above all, that as I supposed I should not return into these parts very soon, I would not take a cursory view of a place which I expected would be so well worth seeing, and let it be known to all I should speak of it to that I wanted to see it again before I could give a full account of it.

"Well, seignior," says he, "we will not be in haste or view it by halves; for if wild and uncouth places will be a diversion to you, I promise myself your curiosity shall be fully gratified; but as to extraordinary things, rarities in nature, and surprising incidents which foreigners expect, I cannot say much to that. However, what think you, seignior," says he, "if we should take a tour a little way into the entrance of the hills, which I showed you the other day, and look upon the gate of this gulf? perhaps your curiosity may be satisfied with the first day's prospect, which, I assure you, will be none of the most pleasant, and you may find yourself sick of the enterprise."

I told him, no; I was so resolved upon the attempt, since he, who I was satisfied would not deceive me, had represented it as so feasible, and especially since he had offered to conduct me through it, that I would not for all the gold that was in the mountains lay it aside. He shook his head at that expression, and smiling at the doctor, says he, "This gentleman little thinks that there is more gold in these mountains, nay, even in this part where we

are, than there is now above ground in the whole world." Partly understanding what he said, I answered, my meaning was to let him see that nothing could divert me from the purpose of viewing the place, unless he himself forbid me, which I hoped he would not; and that as for looking a little way into the passage to try if the horror of the place would put a check to my curiosity, I would not give him that trouble, seeing, the more terrible and frightful, the more difficult and impracticable it was, provided it could be mastered at last, the more it would please me to attempt and overcome it.

"Nay, nay, seignior," said he pleasantly, "there is nothing difficult or impracticable in it, nor is it anything but what the country people, and even some of our nation, perform every day; and that not only by themselves, either for sport in pursuit of game, but even with droves of cattle, which they go with from place to place as to a market or a fair; and therefore if the horror of the clefts and precipices, the noises of the volcanoes, the fire, and such things as you may see and hear above you, will not put a stop to your curiosity, I assure you, you shall not meet with anything unpassable or impracticable below, nor anything but what, with the assistance of God and the Blessed Virgin" (and then he crossed himself, and so we did all), "we shall go cheerfully over."

Finding therefore that I was thus resolutely bent upon the enterprise, but not in the least guessing at my design, he gave order to have servants and mules provided, for mules are much fitter to travel among the hills than horses; and in four days he promised to be ready for a march.

I had nothing to do in all these four days but to walk abroad, and, as we say, look about me; but I took this opportunity to give instructions to my two midshipmen, who were called my servants, in what they were to do.

First, I charged them to make land-marks, bearings, and beacons, as we might call them, upon the points of the rocks above them, and at every turning in the way below them, also at the reaches and windings of the rivers or brooks, falls of water, and everything remarkable; and to keep each of them separate and distinct journals of these things; not only to find the way back again by the same steps, but that they might be able to find that way afterwards by themselves, and without guides, which was the bottom and true intent of all the rest of my undertakings; and as I knew these were both capable to do it, and had courage and fidelity to undertake it, I had singled them out for the attempt, and had made them fully acquainted with my whole scheme, and consequently they knew the meaning and reason of my present discourse with them. They promised not to fail to show me a plan of the hills with the bearings of every point, one with another, where every step was to be taken, and every turning to the right hand or to the left, and such a journal, I believe, was never seen before or since; but it is too long for this place. I shall, however, take out the heads of it as I go along, which may serve as a general description of the place.

The evening of the fourth day, as he had appointed, my friend the Spaniard let me know that he was ready to set out, and accordingly we began our cavalcade; my retinue consisted of six as before,

and we had mules provided for us; my two midshipmen, as servants, had two mules given them also for their baggage; the Spaniard had six also, viz., his gentleman, or, as I called him before, his major-domo, on horseback, that is to say, on mule-back, with mules for his baggage and four servants on foot. Just before we set out his gentleman brought every one of us a fuzee, and our two servants each a harquebuse or short musket, with cartouches, powder and ball, and adjoined a pouch with small shot such as we call swan-shot, for fowls or deer as we saw occasion.

I was as well pleased with this as with anything, because I had not so entire a confidence in the native Chilians as he had; but I saw plainly some time after that I was wrong in that, for nothing could be more honest, quiet, and free from design than those people, except the poor honest people where we dressed up the king and queen, as above.

We were late in the morning before we got out, having all this equipage to furnish, and travelling very gently, it was about two hours before sunset when we came to the entrance of the mountains, where, to my surprise, I found we were to go in upon a level, without any ascent at least that was considerable; we had indeed gone up upon a pretty sharp ascent for near two miles before we came to the place.

The entrance was agreeable enough, the passage being near half a mile broad. On the left hand was a small river whose channel was deep but the water shallow, there having been but little rain for some time; the water ran very rapid, and, as the Spaniard told me, was sometimes exceeding fierce;

the entrance lay inclining a little south, and was so straight that we could see nearly a mile before us, but the prodigious height of the hills on both sides and before us, appearing one over another, gave such a prospect of horror that I confess it was frightful at first to look on the stupendous height of the rocks. Everything before us looking one higher than another was amazing, and to see how, in some places, they hung over the river and over the passage, it threatened a man with being some time or other swallowed up.

The rocks and precipices on our right hand had here and there vast clefts and entrances, which looked as if they had been different thoroughfares, but when we came to look full into them we could see them close up at the further end, and go off in slopes, and with gullies made by the water which in hasty rains came pouring down from the hills, and which at a distance made such noises as it is impossible to conceive, unless by having seen and heard the like; for the water falling sometimes from a height twenty times as high as the Monument, and perhaps much more, and meeting in the passage with many dashes and interruptions, it is impossible to describe how the sound crossing and interfering mingled with itself, and the several noises sunk one into another, increasing the whole as the many waters joining increased the main stream.

We entered this passage about two miles the first night. After the first length which, as I said, held about three-quarters of a mile, we turned away to the south short on the right hand; the river leaving us seemed to come through a very narrow but deep hollow of the mountains, where there was little more

breadth at the bottom than the channel took up, though the rocks gave back as they ascended, as placed in several stages, though all horrid and irregular, and we could see nothing but blackness and terror all the way. I was glad our way did not turn on that side, but wondered that we should leave the river, and the more when I found that in the way we went, having first mounted gently a green pleasant slope, when it declined again we found, as it were, a new rivulet began in the middle, and the water ran S.E., or thereabouts. This made me begin to ask if the water went away into the New World behind the hills. My patron smiled, and said, "No, seignior, not yet; we shall meet with the other river again very quickly." And so we found it the next morning.

When we came a little further we found the passage open, and we came to a very pleasant plain, which declined a little gradually, widening to the left or east side. On the right side of this we saw another vast opening like the first, which went in about half a mile, and then closed up as the first had done, sloping up to the top of the hills, a most monstrous inconceivable height.

My patron stopping here, and getting down or alighting from his mule, gave him to his man, and asking me to alight, told me this was the first night's entertainment I was to meet with in the Andes, and hoped I was prepared for it. I told him that I might very well consent to accept of such entertainment in a journey of my own contriving as he was content to take up with in compliment to me.

I looked around me to see if there were any huts or cots of the mountaineers thereabouts, but I per-

ceived none; only I observed something like a house, and it was really a house of some of the said mountaineers upon the top of a precipice as high from where we stood as the top of the cupola of St. Paul's, and I saw some living creatures, whether men or women I could not tell, looking from thence down upon us. However, I understood afterwards that they had ways to come at their dwelling, which were very easy and agreeable, and had lanes and plains where they fed their cattle, and had everything growing that they desired.

My patron making a kind of invitation to me to walk, took me up that dark chasm or opening on the right hand, which I have just mentioned. "Here, sir," said he, "if you will venture to walk a few steps, 't is likely we may show you some of the product of this country;" but as it grew towards night, he added, "but I see it is too dark, perhaps we may do it in the morning." And with this we walked back towards the place where we left our mules and servants, and when we came thither there was a complete camp fixed. Three very handsome tents raised, and a bar set up at a distance where the mules were tied one to another to graze, and the servants and the baggage lay together with an open tent over them.

My patron led me into the first tent, and told me he was obliged to let me know that I must make shift with that lodging, the place not affording any better.

Here we had quilts laid very artificially and clever for me and my three comrades, and we lodged very comfortably; but before we came to that we had the third tent to go to, in which there was a very handsome table covered with all conveniences, and, in a word, with a cold treat, that is to say, cold roasted

mutton and beef, very well dressed, and after that, some potted or baked venison, with pickles, conserves, and very fine sweetmeats.

Here we ate very freely, but he bid us depend upon it that we should not fare so well the next night, and so it would be worse every night till we came to lie entirely at a mountaineer's; but he was better to us than he pretended.

In the morning we had our chocolate as regularly as we used to have it in his own house, and we were up and ready to travel in a moment. We went winding now from the S.E. to the left, till our course looked E. by N., when we came again to have the river in view. But I should have observed here that my two midshipmen and two of my patron's servants had, by his direction, been very early in the morning clambering up the rocks in the opening on the right hand, and had come back again about a quarter of an hour after we set out, when missing my two men, I inquired for them, and my patron said they were coming, for it seems he saw them at a distance, and so we halted for them.

When they were come almost up to us, he called to his men in Spanish to ask if they had had *una bon vejo?* They answered, "Poco, Poco;" and when they came quite up, one of my midshipmen showed me three or four small bits of clean perfect gold which they had picked up in the hill or gullet where the water trickled down from the rocks, and the Spaniards told them that had they had time they should have found much more, the water being quite down and nobody having been there since the last hard rain. One of the Spaniards had three small bits in his hand also. I said nothing for the present, but

charged my midshipmen to mark the place, and so we went on.

We followed up the stream of this water for three days more, encamping every night as before; in which time we passed by several such openings into the rocks on either side. On the fourth day we had the prospect of a very pleasant valley and river below us upon the north side, keeping its course almost in the middle, the valley reaching near four miles in length, and in some places near two miles broad.

This sight was perfectly surprising, because here we found the vale fruitful, level, and inhabited, there being several small villages or clusters of houses such as the Chilians live in, which are low houses covered with a kind of sedge, and sheltered with little rows of thick grown trees, of what kind we knew not.

We saw no way through, nor which way we were to go out; but saw it everywhere bounded with prodigious mountains, look to which side of the valley we would. We kept still on the right, which was now the south-east side of the river, and as we followed it up the stream it was still less than at first, and lessened every step we went, because of the number of rills we left behind us. And here we encamped the fifth time, and all this while the Spanish gentleman victualled us. Then we turned again to the right, where we had a new and beautiful prospect of another valley as broad as the other, but not above a mile in length.

After we were through this valley my patron rides up to a poor little cottage of a Chilian Indian without any ceremony, and calling us all about him, told us that there we would go to dinner. We saw a smoke indeed in the house, rather than come out of it,

and it smothered through a hole in the roof instead of a chimney. However, to this house, as to an inn, my patron had sent away his major-domo and another servant, and there they were as busy as two cooks, boiling and stewing goat's flesh and fowls, making us soup, broth, and such hodge-podge, as it seems they were used to provide, and which, however homely the cottage was, we found very savoury and good.

Immediately a loose tent was pitched, and we had our table set up and dinner served in, and within about two hours we had eaten it, reposed ourselves after it (as the custom there is), and were ready to travel again.

I had room all this while to observe and wonder at the admirable structure of this place, which may serve, in my opinion, for the eighth wonder of the world, that is to say, supposing there were but seven before. We had in the middle of the day indeed a very hot sun, and the reflection from the mountains made it still hotter; but the height of the rocks on every side began to cast long shadows before three o'clock, except where the openings looked towards the west, and as soon as those shadows reached us the cool breezes of the air came naturally on, drawing every way exceeding pleasant and refreshing.

The place we were in was green and flourishing, and the soil well cultivated by the poor, industrious Chilians, who lived here in perfect solitude, and pleased with their liberty from the tyranny of the Spaniards, who very seldom visited them, and never molested them, being pretty much out of their way, except when they came for hunting and diversion; and then they used the Chilians always civilly, because they were obliged to them for their assistance

in their diversions, the Chilians of those valleys being very active, strong, and nimble fellows.

By this means most of them were furnished with firearms, powder and shot, and were very good marksmen; but as to violence against anybody, they entertained no thoughts of that kind, as I could perceive, but were content with their way of living, which was easy and free.

The tops of the mountains here, the valleys being so large, were much plainer to be seen than where the passages were narrow, for there the height was so great that we could see nothing. Here, at several distances (the rocks towering one over another) we might see smoke come out of some, snow lying upon others, trees and bushes growing upon others, and goats, wild asses, and other creatures which we could hardly distinguish, running about on others.

When we had passed through this second valley, I perceived we came to a narrower passage and something like the first; the entrance into it indeed was smooth, and above a quarter of a mile broad, and it went winding away to the N., and then again turned round to the N.E., afterwards almost due E., and then to the S.E. and so to S.S.E., and this frightful narrow strait, with the hanging rocks almost closing on the top, whose height we could neither see or guess at, continued about three days' journey more, most of the way ascending gently upwards; and as to the river, it was by this time quite lost, but we might see, that on any occasion of rain, or of the melting of the snow on the mountains, there was a hollow in the middle of the valley through which the water made its way, and on either hand the sides of the hills were full of the like gullies, made by the violence of the

rain, where, not the earth only, but the rocks themselves, even the very stone, seemed to be worn and penetrated by the continual fall of the water.

Here my patron showed me that in the hollow which I mentioned, in the middle of this way, and at the bottom of those gullies, or places worn, as above, in the rocks, there were often found pieces of gold, and sometimes after a rain very great quantities; and that there were few of the little Chilian cottages which I had seen, where they had not sometimes a pound or two of gold dust and lumps of gold by them; and he was mistaken, if I was willing to tarry and make the experiments, if we did not find some even then in a very little search.

The Chilian mountaineer at whose house we had stopped to dine, had gone with us, and he hearing my patron say thus, runs presently to the hollow channel in the middle; there was a kind of a fall or break in it, where the water, by falling perhaps two or three feet, had made a little place deeper than the rest, and which, though there was no water then running, yet had water in it, perhaps the quantity of a barrel or two. Here, with the help of two of the servants and a kind of scoop, he presently threw out the water, with the sand and whatever was at bottom among it, into the ordinary water-course; the water falling thus hard, every scoopful upon the sand or earth that came out of the scoop before it, washed a great deal of it away; and among that which remained we might plainly see little lumps of gold shining as big as grains of sand, and sometimes one or two a little bigger.

This was demonstration enough to us. I took up some small grains of it, about the quantity of half a

quarter of an ounce, and left my midshipmen to take up more, and they stayed indeed so long that they could scarce see their way to overtake us, and brought away about two ounces in all, the Chilian and the servants very freely giving them all they found.

When we had travelled about nine miles more in this winding, frightful narrow way, it began to grow towards night, and my patron talked of taking up our quarters as we had before; but his gentleman put him in mind of a Chilian, one of their old servants, who lived in a turning among the mountains about half a mile out of our way, and where we might be accommodated again with the helps of a house, and place at least for our cookery. "Very true," says our patron, "we will go thither, and there, seignior," says he, turning to me, "you shall see an emblem of complete felicity, even in the middle of this place of horror; and you shall see a prince greater, and more truly so, than King Philip, who is the greatest man in the world."

Accordingly we went softly on, his gentleman having advanced before, and in about half a mile we found a turning or opening on our left, where we beheld a deep, large valley, almost circular, and of about a mile diameter, and abundance of houses or cottages interspersed all over it, so that the whole valley looked like an inhabited village, and the ground like a planted garden.

We who, as I said, had been for some miles ascending upwards, were so high above them, that the low valley looked as the low lands in England look below Boxhill, in Surrey; and I began to ask how we should get down? But as we were come into a wider

space than before, so we had more daylight; for though the hollow way had rendered it near dusk before, now it was almost clear day again.

Here we parted with the first Chilian that I mentioned, and I ordered one of my midshipmen to give him a hat and a piece of black baize, enough to make him a cloak; which so obliged the man that he knew not what way to testify his joy; but I knew what I was doing in this, and I ordered my midshipman to do it that he might make his acquaintance with him against another time, and it was not a gift ill bestowed, as will appear in its place.

We were now obliged to quit our mules, who all took up their quarters at the top of the hill, while we, by footings made in the rocks, descended, as we might say, down a pair of stairs of half a mile long, but with many plain places between like foot paces, for the ease of going and coming.

Thus winding and turning to avoid the declivity of the hill, we came very safe to the bottom, where my patron's gentleman and our new landlord that was to be, came to pay his compliment to us.

He was dressed in a jerkin made of an otter skin, like a doublet, a pair of long Spanish breeches of leather, dressed after the Spanish fashion, green and very soft, and which looked very well, but what the skin was I could not guess; he had over it a mantle of a kind of cotton, dyed in two or three grave brown colours, and thrown about him like a Scotchman's plaid; he had shoes of a particular make tied on like sandals, flat-heeled, no stockings, his breeches hanging down below the calf of his leg, and his shoes lacing up above his ankles; he had on a cap of the skin of some small beast like a racoon, with a bit of

the tail hanging out from the crown of his head backward, a long pole in his hand, and a servant as oddly dressed as himself carried his gun; he had neither spado nor dagger.

When our patron came up the Chilian stepped forward and made him three very low bows, and then they talked together, not in Spanish, but in a kind of mountain jargon, some Spanish and some Chilian, of which I scarce understood one word. After a few words, I understood he said something about a stranger come to see, and then, I suppose, added the passages of the mountains; then the Chilian came towards me, made me three bows, and bade me welcome in Spanish. As soon as he had said that, he turns to his barbarian, I mean his servant, for he was as ugly a looking fellow as ever I saw, and taking his gun from him presented it to me; my patron bade me take it, for he saw me a little at a loss what to do, telling me that as it was the greatest compliment that a Chilian could pay to me, he would be very ill pleased and out of humour if it was not accepted, and would think we did not care to be friendly with him.

As we had given this Chilian no notice of our coming, no, not a quarter of an hour, we could not expect great matters of entertainment, and as we carried our provision with us, we did not stand in much need of it; but we had no reason to complain.

This man's habitation was all the same as the rest, low, and covered with a sedge or a kind of reed, which we found grew very plentifully in the valley where he lived. He had several pieces of ground round his dwelling, enclosed with stone walls, made

very artificially with small stones and no mortar; these enclosed grounds were planted with several kinds of garden-stuff for his household, such as plantains, Spanish cabbages, green cocoa, and other things of the growth of their own country, and two of them with European wheat.

He had five or six apartments in his house, every one of them had a door into the air and into one another, and two of them were very large and decent, had long tables on one side, made after their own way, and benches to sit to them like our country people's long tables in England, and mattresses like couches all along the other side, with skins of several sorts of wild creatures laid on them to repose on in the heat of the day, as is the usage among the Spaniards.

Our people set up their tents and beds abroad as before; but my patron told me the Chilian would take it very ill if he and I did not take up our lodging in his house, and we had two rooms provided, very magnificent in their way. The mattress we lay on had a large canopy over it spread like the crown of a tent, and covered with a large piece of cotton white as milk, and which came round every way like a curtain, so that if it had been in the open field it would have been a complete covering; the bed, such as it was, might be as hard as a quilt, and not more, and the covering was of the same cotton as the curtain work, which it seems is the manufacture of the Chilian women, and is made very dexterously; it looked wild, but was pleasant enough, and proper to the place, so I slept very comfortably in it.

But I must confess I was surprised at the aspect of things in the night here. It was, as I told you

above, very near night when we came to this man's cottage (palace I should have called it), and while we were taking our repast, which was very pretty, it grew quite night; we had wax candles brought in for light, which it seems my patron's man had provided, and the place had so little communication with the air by windows that we saw nothing of what was without doors.

After supper my patron turns to me: "Come, seignior," said he, "pray prepare yourself to take a walk." "What! in the dark!" said I, "in such a country as this?" "No, no," says he, "it is never dark here; you are now come to the country of everlasting day. What think you, is not this Elysium?"

"I do not understand you," says I. "But you will presently," says he, "when I shall show you that it is now lighter abroad than when we came in." Soon after this some of the servants opened the door that went into the next room, and the door of that room which opened into the air stood open, from whence a light of fire shone into the outer room, and so further into ours. "What are they burning there?" says I to my patron. "You will see presently," says he, adding, "I hope you will not be surprised." So he led me out to that door.

But who can express the thoughts of a man's heart, coming on a sudden into a place where the whole world seemed to be of a fire-light? The valley was on one side so exceeding bright, the eye could scarce bear to look at it; the sides of the mountains were shining like the fire itself; the flame from the top of the mountain on the other side casting its light directly upon them, from thence the reflection into other parts looked red and more terrible; for

the first was white and clear like the light of the sun, but the other being, as it were, a reflection of light, mixed with some darker cavities, represented the fire of a furnace, and, in short, it might well be said here was no darkness; but certainly at the first view, it gives no traveller any other idea than that of being at the very entrance of eternal horror.

All this while there was no fire, that is to say, no real flame to be seen, only that where the flame was it shone clearly into the valley; but the volcano or volcanoes, from whence the fire issued out (for it seems there were no less than three of them, though at the distance of some miles from one another), were on the south and east sides of the valley, which was so much on that side where we were that we could see nothing but the light, neither on the other side could they see any more, it seems, than just the top of the flame; not knowing anything of the places from whence it issued out, which no mortal creature, no, not of the Chilians themselves, were ever hardy enough to go near; nor would it be possible if any should attempt it, the tops of the hills for many leagues about them being covered with new mountains of ashes and stones, which are daily cast out of the mouths of those volcanoes, by which they grow every day higher than they were before, and which would overwhelm not only men, but whole armies of men, if they should venture to come near them.

When first we came into the long narrow way I mentioned last, I observed that, as I thought, the wind blew very hard aloft among the hills, and that it made a noise like thunder, which I thought nothing of but as a thing usual; but now that I came to this terrible sight, and that I heard the

same thunder and yet found the air calm and quiet, I soon understood that it was a continued thunder, occasioned by the roaring of the fire in the bowels of the mountains.

It was some time, you may suppose, before a traveller unacquainted with such things could make them familiar to him; and though the horror and surprise might abate after proper reflections on the nature and reason of the thing, yet I had a kind of astonishment upon me for a great while; every different place to which I turned my eye presented me with a new scene of horror. I was for a while frighted at the fire being as it were over my head, for I could see nothing of it, but that the air looked as if it were all on fire, and I could not persuade myself but it would cast down the rocks and mountains on my head. But they laughed me out of that part. After a while I asked them if these volcanoes did not cast a kind of liquid fire; as I had seen an account of on the monstrous eruptions of Mount Etna, which cast out a prodigious stream of fire and run eight leagues into the sea. Upon my putting this question to my patron, he asked the Chilian how long ago it was since such a stream, calling it by a name of their own, ran fire. He answered, it ran now; and if we were disposed to walk but three furlongs we should see it.

He said little to me, but asked me if I cared to walk a little way by this kind of light. I told him it was a surprising place we were in, but I supposed he would lead me into no danger. He said he would assure me he would lead me into no danger; that these things were very familiar to them; but that I might depend there was no hazard, and that

the flames which gave all this light were six or seven miles off, and some of them more. We walked along the plain of the valley about half a mile, when another great valley opened to the right, and gave us a more dreadful prospect than any we had seen before; for at the farther end of this second valley, but at the distance of about three miles from where we stood, we saw a livid stream of fire come running down the sides of the mountain for near three-quarters of a mile in length, running like melted metal into a mould or out of a furnace, till, I suppose, as it came nearer the bottom it cooled and separated and so went out of itself.

Beyond this, over the summit of a prodigious mountain, we could see the tops of the clear flame of a volcano, a dreadful one, no doubt, could we have seen it all, and from the mouth of which it was supposed this stream of fire came, though the Chilian assured us that the fire itself was eight leagues off, and that the liquid fire which we saw came out of the side of the mountain, and was two leagues off from the great volcano itself, running like metal out of a furnace. They told me there was a great deal of melted gold run down with the other inflamed earth in that stream, and that much gold was afterwards found there. But this I was to take upon trust.

This sight was, as you will easily suppose, best at a distance, and indeed I had enough of it. As for my two midshipmen, they were almost frighted out of all their resolutions of going any farther in this horrible place, and when we came back they came mighty seriously to me, and begged of me for God's sake not to venture any farther upon the faith of these Spaniards, for that they would certainly

carry us all into some mischief or other, and betray us.

I bade them be easy, for I saw nothing in it at all that looked like treachery; that it was true indeed it was a terrible place to look on, but it seemed to be nothing but what was natural and familiar there, and we should be soon out of it. They told me very seriously that they believed it was the very mouth of hell, and that, in short, they were not able to bear it, and begged of me to go back. I told them no, I could not think of going back; but if they could not endure it I would give consent that they should go back in the morning. However, we went for the present to the Chilian's house again, where we got a plentiful draught of Chilian wine, for my patron had taken care to have a good quantity of it with us, and in the morning my two midshipmen, who got very drunk over night, had courage enough to venture forward again; for the light of the sun put quite another face upon things, and nothing of the fire was then to be seen, only the smoke.

All our company lodged in the tents here, but I and my patron the Spaniard, who lodged within the Chilian's house, as I told you. This Chilian was a great man among the natives, and all the valley I spoke of, which lay round his dwelling, was called his own. He lived in a state of perfect tranquillity, neither enjoying nor coveting anything but what was necessary, and wanting nothing that was so; he had gold as it might be said for picking it up off the dunghill, for it was found in all the little gullies and rills of water, which, as I have said, come down from the mountains on every side; yet I did not find that he troubled himself to lay up any great quantity

more than served to go to Villa Rica and buy what he wanted for himself and family. He had, it seems, a wife and some daughters, but no sons; these lived in a separate house about a furlong from this where he lived, and were kept there as a family by themselves, and if he had had any sons they would have lived with him.

He did not offer to go with us any part of our way as the other had done, but having entertained us with great civility, took his leave. I caused one of my midshipmen to make him a present when we came away of a piece of black baize, enough to make him a cloak, as I did the other, and a piece of blue English serge, enough to make him a jerkin and breeches, which he accepted as a great bounty.

We set out again, though not very early in the morning, having, as I said, sat up late and drank freely over night, and we found that after we had gone to sleep it had rained very hard, and though the rain was over before we went out, yet the falling of the water from the hills made such a confused noise, and was echoed so backward and forward from all sides, that it was like a strange mixture of distant thunder, and though we knew the causes yet it could not be but surprising to us for a while. However, we set forward, the way under foot being pretty good, and first we went up the steps again by which we had come down (our last host waiting on us thither), and there I gave him back his gun, for he would not take it before.

In this valley, which was the pleasantest by day and the most dismal by night that ever I saw, I observed abundance of goats, as well tame in the enclosures as wild upon the rocks; and we found

afterwards that the latter were perfectly wild, and to be had, like those at Juan Fernandez, by anybody that could catch them. My patron sent off two of his men, just as a huntsman casts off hounds, to go and catch goats, and they brought us in three which they shot in less than half-an-hour; and these we carried with us for our evening supply, for we made no dinner this day, having fed heartily in the morning about nine, and had chocolate two hours before that.

We travelled now along the narrow winding passage, which I mentioned before, for about four hours, till I found that though we had ascended but gently, yet that as we had done so for almost twenty miles together, we were got up to a frightful height, and I began to expect some very difficult descent on the other side; but we were made easy about two o'clock, when the way not only declined again to the east, but grew wider, though with frequent turnings and winding about, so that we could seldom see above half a mile before us. We went on thus pretty much upon a level, now rising, now falling, but still I found that we were a very great height from our first entrance; and as to the running of the water, I found that it showed neither east nor west, but ran all down the little turnings that we frequently met with on the north side of our way, which my patron told me went all into the great valley where we saw the fire, and so went away by a general channel north-west, till it found its way out into the open country of Chili, and so to the South Seas.

We were now come to another night's lodging, which we were obliged to take up with on the green grass as we did the first night; but by the help of

our proveditor-general, my patron, we fared very well, our goats' flesh being reduced into so many sorts of venison that none of us could distinguish it from the best venison we ever tasted.

Here we slept without any of the frightful things we saw the night before, except that we might see the light of the fire in the air at a great distance, like a great city on fire, but that gave us no disturbance at all.

In the morning our two hunters shot a deer, or rather a young fawn, before we were awake, and this was the first we met with in this part of our travel, and thus we were provided for dinner even before breakfast-time. As for our breakfast, it was always a Spanish breakfast, that is to say, about a pint of chocolate.

We set out very merrily in the morning, and we that were Englishmen could not refrain smiling at one another to think how we passed through a country where the gold lay in every ditch, as we might call it, and never troubled ourselves so much as to stoop to take it up; so certain is it that it is easy to be placed in a station of life where that very gold, the heaping up of which is here made the main business of man's living in the world, would be of no value, and not worth taking off from the ground; nay, not of signification enough to make a present of; for that was the case here. Two or three yards of Colchester baize, a coarse rug-like manufacture, worth in London about fifteenpence halfpenny per yard, was here a present for a man of quality; when for a handful of gold dust the same person would scarcely thank you, or perhaps would think himself not kindly treated to have it offered him.

We travelled this day pretty smartly, having rested at noon about two hours as before, and, by my calculation, went about twenty-two English miles in all. About five o'clock in the afternoon we came into a broad, plain, open place, where, though it was not properly a valley, yet we found it lay very level for a good way together. Our way lying almost E. S.E., after we had marched so about two miles, I found the way go evidently down hill, and in half a mile more, to our singular satisfaction, we found the water from the mountains ran plainly eastward, and consequently to the North Sea.

We saw at a distance several huts or houses of the mountaineer inhabitants, but we came near none of them, but kept on our way, going down two or three pretty steep places, not at all dangerous, though somewhat difficult.

We encamped again the next night as before, and still our good caterer had plenty of food for us; but I observed that the next morning when we set forward our tents were left standing, the baggage-mules tied together to graze, and our company lessened by all my patron's servants, which, when I inquired about, he told me he hoped we should have good quarters quickly without them. I did not understand him for the present, but it unriddled itself soon after; for though we travelled four days more in that narrow way, yet he always found us lodging at the cottages of the mountaineers. The sixth day we went all day up hill. At last on a sudden the way turned short east, and opened into a vast, wide country, boundless to the eye every way, and delivered us entirely from the mountains of the Andes, in which we had wandered so long.

Any one may guess what an agreeable surprise this was to us, to whom it was the main end of our travels. We made no question that this was the open country extending to the North or Atlantic Ocean, but how far it was thither, or what inhabitants it was possessed by, what travelling, what provisions to be found in the way, what rivers to pass, and whether any navigable or not; this our patron himself could not tell us one word of, owning frankly to us that he had never been one step further than the place where we then stood, and that he had been there only once to satisfy his curiosity, as I did now.

I told him that if I had lived where he did, and had had servants and provisions at command as he had, it would have been impossible for me to have restrained my curiosity so far as not to have searched that whole country to the sea-side long ago. I told him it seemed to be a pleasant and fruitful soil, and no doubt was capable of cultivation and improvement; and if it had been only to have possessed such a country in his Catholic Majesty's name, it must have been worth while to undertake the discovery for the honour of Spain; and that there could be no room to question but his Catholic Majesty would have honoured him that should have undertaken such a thing with some particular mark of his favour, which might be of consequence to him and his family.

He told me that as to that, the Spaniards seemed already to have more dominions in America than they could keep, and much more than they were able to reap the benefit of, and still more infinitely than they could improve, and especially in those parts called South America.

That it was next to miraculous that they could

keep the possession where they were, and were not the natives so utterly destitute of support from any other part of the world as not to be able to have either arms or ammunition put into their hands, it would be impossible, since I might easily see they were men that wanted not strength of body nor courage, and it was evident they did not want numbers, seeing they were already ten thousand natives to one Spaniard, taking the whole country from one end to the other.

He went on: "Then you see, seignior," says he, "how far we are from improvement in that part of the country which we possess, and many more, which you may be sure are among these vast mountains, and which we never discovered, seeing all these valleys and passages among the mountains, where gold is to be had in such quantities and with so much ease, that every poor Chilian gathers it up with his hands, and may have as much as he pleases; all are left open, naked and unregarded, in the possession of the wild mountaineers, who are heathens and savages; and the Spaniards, you see," says he, "are so few, and these few so indolent, so slothful, and so satisfied with the gold they get of the Chilians for things of small value in trade, that all this vast treasure lies unregarded by them. Nay," adds he, "is it not very odd to observe, that when for our diversion we come out into the hills, and among these places where you see the gold is so easily found, we come as we call it a-hunting, and divert ourselves more with shooting wild parrots or a fawn or two, for which also we ride and run, and make our servants weary themselves more than they would in fishing up the gold among the gullies and holes that

the water makes in the rocks, and more than would suffice to find fifty, nay, one hundred times the value in gold? To what purpose, then, should we seek the possession of more countries, who are already possessed of more land than we can improve, and of more wealth than we know what to do with?" Perceiving me very attentive, he went on thus:—

"Were these mountains," said he, "valued in Europe according to the riches to be found in them, the viceroy would obtain orders from the king to have strong forts erected at the entrance in and at the coming out of them, as well on the side of Chili as here, and strong garrisons maintained in them to prevent foreign nations landing, either on our side in Chili, or on this side in the North Seas, and taking the possession from us; he would then order thirty thousand slaves, negroes, or Chilians, to be constantly employed, not only in picking up what gold might be found in the channels of the water, which might easily be formed into proper receivers, so as that if any gold washed from the rocks it should soon be found, and be so secured as that none of it would escape; also others, with miners and engineers, might search into the very rocks themselves, and would no doubt find out such mines of gold or other secret stores of it in those mountains as would be sufficient to enrich the world.

"While we omit such things as these, seignior," says he, "what signifies Spain making new acquisitions, or the people of Spain seeking new countries? This vast tract of land you see here, and some hundreds of miles every way, which your eye cannot reach to, is a fruitful, pleasant, and agreeable piece

of God's creation, but perfectly uncultivated, and most of it uninhabited; and any nation in Europe that thinks fit to settle in it are free to do so, for anything we are able to do to prevent them."

"But, seignior," said I, "does not his Catholic Majesty claim a title to the possession of it? and have the Spaniards no governor over it; nor any ports or towns, settlements or colonies in it, as is the case here in Chili?" "Seignior," replies he, "the king of Spain is lord of America, as well that which he possesses as that which he possesses not, that right being given him by the Pope, in the right of his being a Christian prince, making new discoveries for propagating the Christian faith among infidels; how far that may pass for a title among the European powers I know not; I have heard that it has always passed for a maxim in Europe, that no country which is not planted by any prince or people can be said to belong to them; and indeed I cannot say but it seems to be rational that no prince should pretend to any title to a country where he does not think fit to plant and to keep possession; for if he leaves the country unpossessed, he leaves it free for any other nation to come and possess; and this is the reason why the former king of Spain did not dispute that right of the French to their colonies of Mississippi and Canada, or the right of the English to the Carribee Islands, or to their colonies of Virginia and New England.

"In like manner from Buenos Ayres, in the Rio de la Plata, which lies that way," says he (pointing N.E.), "to the Fretum Magellanicum, which lies that way (pointing S.E.), which comprehends a vast number of leagues, is called by us Coasta Deserta,

being unpossessed by Spain and disregarded of all our nation; neither is there one Spaniard in it. Nevertheless, you see how fruitful, how pleasant, and how agreeable a climate it is, how apt for planting and peopling it seems to be, and, above all, what a place of wealth here would be behind them, sufficient and more than enough both for them and us; for we should have no reason to offer them any disturbance, neither should we be in any condition to do it, the passages of the mountains being but few and difficult, as you have seen, and our numbers not sufficient to do anything more than block them up, to keep such people from breaking in upon our settlements on the coast of the South Seas."

I asked him if these notions of his were common among those of his country who were settled in Chili and Peru, or whether they were his own private opinions only. I told him I believed the latter, because I found he acted in all his affairs upon generous principles, and was for propagating the good of mankind; but that I questioned whether the governor of Old Spain, or the sub-governor and viceroy of New Spain, acted upon these notions or no; and since he had mentioned the Buenos Ayres and the Rio de la Plata, I should take that as an example, seeing the Spaniards would never suffer any nation to set foot in that great river, where so many countries might have been discovered and colonies planted, though at the same time they had not possessed or fully discovered those places themselves.

He answered me, smiling: "Seignior," says he, "you have given the reason for this yourself in that very part which you think is a reason against it. We have a colony at Buenos Ayres and at the city of

Ascension, higher up in the Rio de la Plata, and we are not willing to let any other nation settle there, because we would not let them see how weak we are, and what a vast extent of land we possess there with a few men, and this for two reasons: — First, we are possessed of the country and daily increasing there, and may in time extend ourselves farther; the great rivers Parana and Paraguay being yet left for us to plant in, and we are not willing to put ourselves out of a capacity of planting farther, and therefore we keep the possession. Secondly, we have a communication from thence with Peru. That great river La Plata rises at the city La Plata, and out of the mountain Potosi, in Peru, and a great trade is carried on by that river, and it would be dangerous to let foreigners into the secret of that trade, which they might entirely cut off, especially when they should find that small number of Spaniards which are planted there to preserve it, seeing there are not six hundred Spaniards in all that vast country, which by the course of that river is more than one thousand six hundred miles in length."

"I confess," said I, "these are just grounds for your keeping the possession of that river." "They are so," said he, "and the more, because of so powerful a colony as the Portuguese have in the Brazils, which bound immediately upon it, and who are always encroaching upon it from the land side, and would gladly have a passage up the Rio Parana to the back of their colony.

"But here, seignior," says he, "the case is different, for we neither take nor keep possession here; neither have we one Spaniard, as I said, in the whole country now before you; and therefore we call this country

Coasta Deserta; not that it is a desert, as that name is generally taken to signify, a barren, sandy, dry country; on the contrary, the infinite, prodigious increase of the European black cattle, which were brought by the Spaniards to the Buenos Ayres, and let run loose, is a sufficient testimony of the fruitfulness and richness of the soil, their number being such that they kill above twenty thousand of them in a year for nothing but the hides, which they carry away to Spain, leaving the flesh, though fat and wholesome, to perish on the ground, or to be devoured by birds of prey. And the number is so great, notwithstanding all they destroy, that they are found to wander sometimes in droves of many thousands together, over all the vast country between the Rio de la Plata and the city of the Ascension, and the frontier of Peru, and even down into this country which you see before us, and up to the very foot of these mountains."

"Well," said I, "and is it not a great pity that all this part of the country, and in such a climate as this is, should lie uncultivated, or uninhabited rather? for I understand there are not any great numbers of people to be found among them."

"It is true," added he, "there are some nations of people spread about in this country; but as the terror of our people, the Spaniards, drove them at first from the sea-coast towards these mountains, so the greatest part of them continue on this side still, for towards the coast it is very rare that they find any people."

I would have inquired of him about rivers and navigable streams which might be in this country, but he told me frankly that he could give me no account of them; only thus, that if any of the rivers went away towards the north, they certainly run all into

the great Rio de la Plata; but that if they went east or southerly, they must go directly to the coast, which was ordinarily called, as he said, La Coasta Deserta, or as by some, the coast of Patagonia; that as to the magnitude of those rivers he could say little, but that it could not be rational but there must be some very considerable rivers, and whose streams must needs be capable of navigation, seeing abundance of water must continually flow from the mountains where we then were, and its being at least four hundred miles from the sea-side, those small streams must necessarily join together, and make large rivers in the plain country.

I had enough in this discourse fully to satisfy all my curiosity, and sufficiently to heighten my desire of making the farther discoveries I had in my thoughts.

We pitched our little camp here and sat down to our repast, for I found that though we were to go back to lodge, yet my patron had taken care we should be furnished sufficiently for dinner, and have a good house to eat it in, that is to say, a tent as before.

The place where we stood, though we had come down hill for a great way, yet seemed very high from the ordinary surface of the country, and gave us therefore an exceedingly fine prospect of it, the country declining gradually for near ten miles; and we thought, as well as the distance of the place would allow us, we saw a great river, but, as I learnt afterwards, it was rather a great lake than a river, which was supplied by the smaller rivers or rivulets from the mountains, which met there in a great receptacle of waters, and out of this lake they all issued again in one river, of which I shall have occasion to give a farther account hereafter.

While we were at dinner I ordered my midshipmen to take their observations of every distant object, and to look at everything with their glasses, which they did, and told me of this lake; but my patron could give no account of it, having never been, as he said before, one step farther that way than where we were. However, my men showed me plainly that it was a great lake, and that there went a large river from it towards the E.S.E., and this was enough for me, for that way lay all the schemes I had laid.

I took this opportunity to ask my midshipmen, first, if they had taken such observations in their passage of the mountains as that they were sure they could find their way through to this place again without guides. They assured me they could.

Then I put it to them, whether they thought it might not be feasible to travel over that vast level country to the North Seas, and to make a sufficient discovery of the country, so as that hereafter Englishmen coming to the coast on that side of the North Seas might penetrate to these golden mountains, and reap the benefit of the treasure without going a prodigious length about Cape Horn and the Terra del Fuego, which was always attended with innumerable dangers, and without breaking through the kingdom of Chili, and the Spaniards' settlements, which perhaps we might soon be at peace with, and so be shut out that way by our own consents.

One of my men began to speak of the difficulties of such an attempt, the want of provisions, and other dangers which we should be exposed to on the way; but the other, a bold, brisk fellow, told me he made no question but it might be easily done, and especially because all the rivers they should meet with would, of

course, run along with us, so that we should be sure to have the tide with us, as he called it; and at last he added that he would be content to be one of those men who should undertake it, provided he should be assured that the ships would not go away and pretend that they could not be found. I told him we would talk farther about it; that I had such a thing in my head, and I had a strong inclination to undertake it myself, but that I could not answer it to leave the ships, which depended so much upon my care of the voyage.

After some talk of the reasonableness of such an undertaking and the methods of performing it, my second midshipman began to come into it and to think it was practicable enough, and added, that though he used some cautions in his first hearing proposals, yet, if he undertook that enterprise, I should find that he would do as much of his duty in it as another man; and so he did at last, as will appear in its place.

We were by this time preparing to be satisfied with our journey, and my patron coming to me and asking if I was for returning, I told him I could not say how many days it would be before I should say I had enough of that prospect, but that I would return when he pleased; only I had one question to ask him, which was, whether the mountain was as full of gold on this side as they were on the side of Chili.

"As to that, seignior," says he, "the best way to be certain is to make a trial, that you may be sure we do not speak without book." So he called his gentleman and another servant who was with him, and desired me to call my two midshipmen, and speaking something to his own servants first in the language of the country, as I suppose, he turned to

me and said, "Come, let us sit down and repose ourselves, and let them go all together and see what they can do."

Accordingly they went away, and, as my men told me afterwards, they searched in the small streams of water which they found running, and in some large gullies or channels where they found little or no water running, but where upon hasty rains great shoots of water had been used to run, and where water stood still in the holes and falls, as I have described once before on the like occasion.

They had not been gone above an hour when I plainly heard my two Englishmen halloo, which I could easily distinguish from the voices of any other nation, and immediately I ran out of the tent, Captain Mirlotte followed, and I then saw one of my midshipmen running towards us; so we went to meet him, and what with hallooing and running he could hardly speak; but recovering his breath, said he came to desire me to come to them, if I would see a sight which I never saw in my life. I was eager enough to go, so I went with him, and left Captain Mirlotte to go back to the tent to my patron the Spaniard and the Spanish doctor, who had not so much share in the curiosity. He did so, and they followed fair and softly.

When we came to the place we saw such a sight indeed as I never saw before; for there they were sitting down round a little puddle or hole, as I might call it, of water, where in the time of rain the water, running hastily from a piece of the rock about two feet higher than the rest, had made a pit under it with the fall like the tail of a mill, only much less.

Here they took up the sand or gravel with their

hands, and every handful brought up with it such a quantity of gold as was surprising; for there they sat picking it out just as the boys in London that go with a broom and a hat, pick old iron, nails, and pins out of the channels, and it lay as thick.

I stood and looked at them awhile, and it must be confessed it was a pleasant sight enough. But reflecting immediately that there was no end of this, and that we were only upon the inquiry, "Come away," says I, laughing to my men, "and do not stand picking up of trash there all day; do you know how far we have to go to our lodging?"

I can make no guess what quantity might have been found here in places which had for hundreds of years washed gold from the hills, and perhaps never had a man come to pick any of it up before; but I was soon satisfied here was enough even to make all the world say they had enough; and so I called off my people and came away.

It seems the quantity of gold which is thus washed down is not small, since my men, inquiring afterwards among the Chilians, heard them talk of the great lake of water which I mentioned just now that we saw at a distance, which they call the Golden Lake, and where was, as they said, prodigious quantities of it; not that our men supposed any gold was there in mines or in the ordinary soil, but that the waters from the hills, running with very rapid currents at certain times in the rainy seasons, and after the melting of the snows, had carried the gold so far as that lake; and as it has been so perhaps from the days of the general deluge, no people ever applying themselves to gather the least grain of it up again, it might well be increased to such a quantity as

might entitle that water to the name of the Golden Lake, and all the little streams and sluices of water that run into it deserved the name of golden rivers, as much as that of the Golden Lake.

But my business was to know if the gold was here, not to trouble myself to pick it up; my views lay another way, and my end was fully answered; so I came back to my patron and brought all my men with me. "You live in a golden country, seignior," said I; "my men are stark mad to see so much gold and nobody to pick it up. Should the world know what treasure you have here, I would not answer for it that they should not flock hither in armies and drive you all away." "They need not do that, seignior," says he, "for here is enough for them and for us too."

We now packed up and began our return, but it was not without regret that I turned my back upon this pleasant country, the most agreeable place of its kind that ever I was at in all my life, or ever shall be in again; a country rich, pleasant, fruitful, wholesome, and capable of everything for the life of man that the heart could entertain a wish for.

But my present work was to return; so we mounted our mules, and had in the meantime the pleasure of contemplating what we had seen, and applying ourselves to such farther measures as we had concerted among us. In about four hours we returned to our camp, as I called, and by the way we found, to our no little pain, that though we had come down hill easily and insensibly to the opening for some miles, yet we had a hard pull up hill to go back again. However, we reached to our tents in good time, and made our first encampment with pleasure enough,

for we were very weary with the fatigue of a hard day's journey.

The next day we reached our good Chilian's mansion-house or palace, for such it might be called, considering the place and considering the entertainment; for now he had some time to provide for us, knowing we would come back again.

He met us with three mules and two servants, about a mile before we came to the descent going down to his house, of which I took notice before, and this he did to guide us a way round to his house without going down those uneasy steps; so we came on our mules to his door, that is to say, on his mules, for he would have my patron, the Spaniard, to whom I observed he showed an excellent respect, and Captain Mirlotte and myself, mount his fresh mules to carry us to his house.

When we came thither I observed he wanted the assistance of my patron's servants for his cookery; for though he had provided abundance of food, he owned he knew not how to prepare it to our liking; so they assisted him, and one of my midshipmen, pretending to cook too, made them roast a piece of venison and a piece of kid or young goat admirably well, and putting no garlic or onions into the sauce but their own juices, with a little wine, it pleased the Spaniard so well that my man passed for an extraordinary cook, and had the favour asked of him to dress some more after the same manner when we came back to the Spaniard's house.

We had here several sorts of wild fowl which the Chilian had shot while we were gone; but I knew none of them by any of the kinds we have in England, except some teal. However, they were very good.

The day was very agreeable and pleasant here, but the night dreadful as before, being all fire and flame; and though we understood both what it was and where, yet I could not make it familiar to me for my life. The Chilian persuaded us to stay all the next day, and did his endeavour to divert us as much as possible. My two midshipmen went out with him a-hunting, as he called it — that is, a-shooting; but though he was a man of fifty years of age, he would have killed ten of them at his sport, running up the hills and leaping from rock to rock like a boy of seventeen. At his gun he was so sure a marksman that he seldom missed anything he shot at, whether running, flying, or sitting.

They brought home with them several fowls, two fawns, and full-grown deer, and we had nothing but boiling, stewing, and broiling all that evening. In the afternoon we walked out to view the hills and to see the stupendous precipices which surrounded us. As for looking for gold, we saw the places where there was enough to be had, but that was become now so familiar to us that we troubled not ourselves about it, as a thing not much worth while; but our two midshipmen, I think, got about the quantity of five or six ounces apiece while we were chatting or reposing in the Chilian's house.

Here it was that I entered into a confidence with my patron, the Spaniard, concerning my grand design. I told him, in the first place, that my view of the open country beyond these hills, and the particular account he had given me of it also, had raised a curiosity in me that I could scarce withstand; and that I had thereupon formed a design which, if he would further me with his assistance, I had a very great mind to

put in practice, and that though I was to perish in the attempt.

He told me very readily nothing should be wanting on his part to give me any assistance he could, either by himself or any of his servants; but smiling, and with abundance of good-humour, "Seignior," says he, "I believe I guess at the design you speak of; you are fired now with a design to traverse this great country to the Coasta Deserta and the North Seas. That is a very great undertaking, and you will be well advised before you undertake it."

"Truly, seignior," said I, "you have guessed my design, and were it not that I have two ships under my care and some cargo of value on board, I would bring my whole ship's company on shore and make the adventure, and perhaps we might be strong enough to defend ourselves against whatever might happen by the way."

"As to that, seignior," says he, "you would be in no danger that would require so many men, for you will find but few inhabitants anywhere, and those not in numbers sufficient to give you any trouble. Fifty men would be as many as you would either want or desire, and perhaps as you would find provisions for; and for fifty men we might be able to carry provisions with us to keep them from distress; but if you will accept of my advice as well as assistance, seignior," says he, "choose a faithful, strong fellow out of your ship on whom you can depend, and give him fifty men with him, or thereabouts, and such instructions as you may find needful as to the place on the coast where you would have them fix their stay, and let them take the first hazards of the adventure, and as you are going round by the sea, you will, if success follows,

meet them on the shore; and if the account they give of their journey encourage you, you may come afterwards yourself up to these very mountains and take a further view. In which case," he added, with a solemn protestation, "cost what it will, I will come and meet you one hundred miles beyond the hills with supplies of provisions and mules for your assistance."

This was such wholesome and friendly advice, and he offered it so sincerely, that though it was very little differing from my own design, yet I would not be seen so to lessen his prudence in the measures of his friendship in advising it as to say that I had resolved to do so. But making all possible acknowledgment to him for his kind offers, I told him I would take his advice, and that I would act just according to the measures he had prescribed; and at the same time I assured him that, if I found a convenient port to settle and fortify in, I would not fail to come again from France (for we passed always as acting from France, whatever nation we were of) to relieve and supply them; and that, if ever I returned safe, I would not fail to correspond with him by the passages of the mountains, and make a better acknowledgment for his kindness than I had been able to do yet.

He was going to break off the discourse upon the occasion of the Chilian's returning, who was just come in from his hunting, telling me we would talk further of it by the way; but I told him I could not quite dismiss the subject, because I must bespeak him to make some mention of it to the Chilian, that he might on his account be an assistant to our men, as we saw he was capable of being, in their passing by those difficult ways and for their supply of provision, &c. "Trouble not yourself with that, seignior," said he,

" for when your men come the care shall be mine. I 'll come myself as far as this wealthy Chilian's and procure them all the assistance this place can afford them, and do anything that offers to forward them in the undertaking."

This was so generous and so extraordinary that I had nothing to say more, but to please myself with the apparent success of my attempt, and acknowledge the happiness of having an opportunity to oblige so generous-spirited and grateful a person.

I would, however, have made some further acknowledgment to our Chilian benefactor; but I had nothing left except a couple of hats and three pair of English stockings, one pair silk and the other two worsted, and those I gave him, and made him a great many acknowledgments for the favours he had shown us, and the next morning came away.

We made little stay anywhere else on our return; but making much such stages back as we did forward, we came the fourteenth day to our patron's house, having made the passage through in something less than sixteen days, and the like back in fifteen days, including our stay at the Chilian's one day. The length of the way, according to the best of my calculations, I reckoned to be about one hundred and seventy-five English miles, taking it with all its windings and turnings, which were not a few; but which had this conveniency with them, that they gave a more easy and agreeable passage, and made the English proverb abundantly good, namely, that the farthest way was the nearest way.

The civilities I received after this from my generous Spaniard were agreeable to the rest of his usage of me; but we that had so great a charge upon us at the

sea-side, could not spare long time in those ceremonies any more than I can do now for relating them: it is enough to mention that he would not be excused at parting from going back with us quite to the ships, and when I would have excused it, he said, "Nay, seignior, give me leave to go and fetch my hostages." In short, there was no resisting him, so we went all together, having stayed two days more at his house, and came all safe to our ships, having been gone forty-six days from them.

We found the ships in very good condition, all safe on board and well, except that the men seemed to have contracted something of the scurvy; which our Spanish doctor, however, soon recovered them of.

Here we found the two Spanish youths, our patron's hostages, very well also, and very well pleased with their entertainment. One of our lieutenants had been teaching them navigation and something of the mathematics, and they had made very good improvement in those things, considering the time they had been there; and the Spaniard, their father, was so pleased with it, that having not gold enough to offer the lieutenant as an acknowledgment for his teaching them, he gave him a very good ring from his finger, having a fine large emerald in it of good value, and made him a long Spanish compliment for having nothing of better value to offer him.

We now made preparations for sailing, and our men in my absence had laid in a very considerable supply of provisions, particularly excellent pork, and pretty tolerable beef, and a great number of goats and hogs alive, as many as we could stow.

But I had now my main undertaking to manage,

I mean that of sending out my little army for discovery, and having communicated my design to the supercargo, and the person who I intrusted with him in the command of the ships, they unanimously approved of the thing. My next business was to resolve upon whom to confer the command of the expedition; and this by general consent fell upon the lieutenant of the Madagascar ship, who had taught the young Spaniards navigation; and this the rather because he was naturally a bold, enterprising man, and also an excellent geographer; indeed, he was a general artist, and a man faithful and vigilant in whatever he undertook; nor was it a little consideration with me that he was so agreeable to the Spaniard and his sons, of whose aid we knew he would stand in so much need.

When I had communicated to him the design, and he had both approved the thing itself and accepted the command, we constituted him captain, and the two midshipmen we made lieutenants for the expedition; promising each of them five hundred pounds if they performed it. As for the captain, we came to a good agreement with him for his reward, for I engaged to give him one thousand pounds in gold as soon as we met, if the journey was performed effectually.

We then laid open the undertaking to the men, and left it to every one's choice to go or not to go, as they pleased; but instead of wanting men to go volunteer, we were fain to decide it by lot among some of them, they were all so eager to undertake it.

Then I gave them articles and conditions, which they who ventured should engage themselves to comply with, and particularly that they should not

mutiny, upon pain of being shot to death when we met, or upon the spot if the captain thought it necessary; that they should not straggle from their company, nor be tempted by the view of picking up gold to stay behind when the company beat to march; that all the gold they found in the way should be in common, should be put together in bulk every night, and be divided faithfully and equally at the end of the journey, allowing only five shares to each ship, to be divided as I should direct; besides which, upon condition that every man behaved himself faithfully and quietly, and did their duty, I promised that besides the gold they might get by the way, I would give them every man one hundred pounds at our meeting; and if any man was sick or maimed by the way, they were to engage not to forsake and leave him on any account whatsoever, death only excepted; and if any man died except by any violence from the rest, his share of the gold which was gotten should be faithfully kept for his family, if he had any; but his reward of one hundred pounds, which was not due because he did not live to demand it, should be divided among the rest; so that by this agreement the undertaking was not so dear to me as I had expected; for the pay of the men amounted to no more than the sum following, viz.: —

To the lieutenant, now made captain	£1000
To the midshipmen, now made lieutenants, each £500	1000
To fifty men, each £100	5000
To the surgeon, £200, and his servant, £100, over and above their £100 as being part of the fifty men	300
	£7300

Having pitched upon the men, I landed them, and made them encamp on shore; but first of all I made them every one make wills or letters of attorney, or other dispositions of their effects, to such persons as they thought fit, with an account under their hands endorsed on the back of the said wills, &c., intimating what chests or cases or other things they had on board, and what was in them, and what pay was due to them; and those chests, &c., were sealed up before their faces with my seal, and writings signed by me, the contents unknown. Thus they were secure that all they had left in the ships, and all that was due to them, should be punctually and carefully kept and delivered as it was designed and directed by themselves, and this was greatly to their satisfaction.

As to the reward of one hundred pounds a man, and the articles about keeping together, obeying orders, gathering up gold, and the like, I did not read to them till they were all on shore, and till I was ready to leave them, because if the rest of the men had heard it I should have kept nobody with me to have sailed the ships.

There was as stout a company of bold, young brisk fellows of them as ever went upon any expedition, fifty-three in number, among them a surgeon and his mate, very skilful and honest men both of them; a trumpeter and a drummer, three ship carpenters, a cook, who was also a butcher by trade, and a barber; two shoemakers, who had been soldiers among the pirates; a smith and a tailor, of the same; so that they wanted no mechanics, whatever might happen to them.

Give the fellows their due, they took but little baggage with them; but, however, what they had I took

care, with the assistance of my good patron, the Spaniard, should be as much carried for them as possible. I provided them three large tents, made of a cotton stuff which I bought in the country, and which we made up on board, which tents were large enough to cover them all in case of rain or heat; but as for beds or bedding, they had only seven hammocks, in case any man was sick; for the rest they were to shift as well as they could; the season was hot and the climate good, their way lay in the latitude of forty to fifty, and they set out in the latter end of the month of October, which on that side of the line is the same as our April, so that the covering was more to keep them from the heat than the cold.

It was needful, in order to their defence, to furnish them with arms and ammunition; so I gave to every man a musket or fusee, a pistol and a sword, with cartouches and a good stock of ammunition, powder and shot, with three small barrels of fine powder for store, and lead in proportion; and these things were indeed the heaviest part of their baggage, excepting the carpenters' tools and the surgeon's box of medicines. As for carrying all these things, they might easily furnish themselves with mules or horses for carriage while they had money to pay for them, and you may judge how that could be wanting by what has been said of the country.

We gave them, however, a good large pack of European goods, to make agreeable presents where they received favours, such as black baize, pieces of saye, serge, calamanco, drugget, hats, and stockings, not forgetting another pack of hatchets, knives, scissors, beads, toys, and such things, to please the

natives of the plain country if they should meet with any.

They desired a few hand grenades, and we gave them about a dozen, but as they were heavy it would have been very troublesome to have carried more.

The Spaniard stayed till all this was done and till the men were ready to march, and then told us privately that it would not be proper for him to march along with them, or to appear openly to countenance the enterprise; that my two lieutenants knew the way perfectly well, and that he would go before to his own house, and they should hear of him by the way.

All the mules and horses which he had lent us to bring us back, he left with them to carry their baggage, and our new captain had bought six more privately in the country. The last instructions I gave to our men was, that they should make the best of their way over the country beyond the mountains; that they should take the exact distances of places and keep a journal of their march, set up crosses and marks at all proper places, and that they should steer their course as near as they could between the latitude of forty (where they would enter the country) and the latitude of forty-five S., so that they would go an E.S.E. course most of the way, and that wherever they made the shore they should seek for a creek or port where the ships might come to an anchor, and look out day and night for the ships; the signals also were agreed on, and they had two dozen of rockets to throw up if they discovered us at sea. They had all necessary instruments for observation also, and perspective glasses, pocket compasses, &c., and thus they set out on the 24th October 1715.

We stayed five days after they began their march by agreement, that if any opposition had been offered them in the country, or any umbrage taken at their design, so that it could not be executed, we might have notice. But as the Spaniards in the country (who are the most supinely negligent people in the world) had not the least shadow of intelligence, and took them only to be French seamen belonging to the two French ships (such we passed for) who had lain there so long, they knew nothing when they went away, much less whither; but, no question, they believed that they were all gone on board again.

We stayed three days longer than we appointed, and hearing nothing amiss from them we were satisfied that all was right, so we put to sea, standing off to the west till we were out of sight of the shore, and then we stood away due south, with a fresh gale at N.W. by W. and fair weather, though the wind chopped about soon after, and we had calms and hot weather that did us no good, but made our men sick and lazy.

The supposed journey of our travellers, their march, and the adventures they should meet with by the way, were indeed sufficient diversion, and employed us all with discourse, as well in the great cabin and round-house as before the mast, and wagers were very rife amongst us who should come first to the shore of Patagonia, for so we called it. As for the place, neither they nor we could make any guess at what part of the country they should make the sea; but, as for us, we resolved to make the Port St. Julian our first place to put in at, which is in the latitude of fifty degrees five minutes, and

that then, as wind and water would permit, we would keep the coast as near as we could till we came to Punta de St. Helena, where we would ride for some time, and, if possible, till we heard of them.

We had but a cross voyage to the mouth of the Straits of Magellan, having contrary winds, as I have said, and sometimes bad weather, so that it was the 13th of December when we made an observation, and found ourselves in the latitude of fifty-two degrees thirty minutes, which is just the height of Cape Victoria, at the mouth of the passage. Some of our officers were very much for passing the straits and not going about by Cape Horn; but the uncertainty of the winds in the passage, the danger of the currents, &c., made it by no means advisable, so we resolved to keep good sea-room.

The 25th of December we found ourselves in the latitude of sixty-two degrees thirty minutes, and being Christmas Day, I feasted the men and drank the health of our travellers. Our course was S.E. by S., the wind S.W., then we changed our course and went away E. for eight days, and having made fresh way, stood away without observation E.N.E., and in two days more made the land on the east of the Strait de la Mare, so that we were obliged to stand away E.S.E. to take more sea-room, when the wind veering to the S. by E. a fresh gale, we stood boldly away due north, and running large soon found that we had entered the North Sea on Twelfth Day; for joy of which, and to celebrate the day, I gave every mess a piece of good English beef and a piece of Chilian pork, and made a great bowl of punch before the mast as well as in the great cabin, which made our

men very cheerful, and instead of a Twelfth cake, I gave the cook order to make every mess a good plum-pudding, which pleased them all as well.

But while we were at our liquor and merry, the wind came about to the N.E. and blew very hard, threatening us with a storm, and as the shore lay on our leeward quarter we were not without apprehensions of being driven on some dangerous places, and forced to ride upon life and death, where we could have no shelter; I therefore altered my course and ran away east all night, to have as much sea-room as possible. The next day the wind abated, and hauling away to the east, we stood northward again, and then N.W. in three days more, and we made land, which appeared to be the head island of Port St. Julian, on the north side of the port, where we ran in, and about an hour before sunset came to an anchor in eleven fathom good holding ground, latitude forty-nine degrees eighteen minutes.

We wanted fresh water, otherwise we would not have made any stay here at all, for we knew we were a little too far to the south; however, we were obliged to fill fresh water here for three days together, the watering-place being a good way up the river, and the swell of the sea running very high.

During this interval Captain Mirlotte and I went on shore with about thirty men, and marched up the country near twenty miles, getting up to the top of the hills, where we made fires, and at the farthest hill we encamped all night, and threw up five rockets, which was our signal; but we saw nothing to answer it, nor any sign either of English people or natives in all the country.

We saw a noble champaign country, the plains all

smooth and covered with grass, like Salisbury Plain, very little wood to be seen anywhere, insomuch that we could not get anything but grass to make a smoke with, which was another of our signals. We shot some fowls here, and five or six hares; the hares are as large as an English fox, and burrow in the earth like a rabbit. The fowls we shot were duck and mallard, teal and widgeon, the same as in England in shape and size, only the colour generally grey, with white in the breast and green heads, the flesh the same as ours, and very good.

We saw wild geese and wild swans, but shot none. We saw also guinacoes, or Peruvian sheep, as large as small mules, but could not come at them either, for as soon as we stepped towards them they would call to one another to give notice of us, and then troop all together and be gone.

This is an excellent country for feeding and breeding of sheep and horses, the grass being short, but very sweet and good on the plains, and very long and rich near the fresh rivers, and were it cultivated and stocked with cattle, would, without doubt, produce excellent kinds of all sorts of cattle; nor could it fail of producing excellent corn, as well wheat as barley and oats; and as for peas, they grow wild all over the country, and nourish an infinite number of birds like pigeons, which fly in flights so great that they seem in the air like clouds at a great distance.

As for the soil, that of the hills is gravel and some stony, but that of the plains is a light, black mould, and in some places a rich loam, and some marl, all of which are tokens of fruitfulness such as indeed never fail.

The 14th of January (the weather being hot and

days long, for this was their July) we weighed and stood northerly along the shore, the coast running from Port St. Julian N.N.E. till we arrived at the famous islands called Penguin Islands, and here we came to an anchor again, in the same round bay which Sir John Narbrough called Port Desire, it being the 17th of January.

Here we found a post or cross erected by Sir John Narbrough, with a plate of copper nailed to it, and an inscription signifying that he had taken possession of that country in the name of King Charles II. Our men raised a shout for joy that they were in their king's own dominions, or, as they said, in their own country; and indeed, excepting that they were not inhabited by Englishmen, and cultivated, planted, and enclosed after the English manner, I never saw a country in the world so like England.

Here we victualled our ships with a new kind of food; for we loaded ourselves with seals, of which here are an infinite number, and which we salted and ate, and our men liked them wonderfully for a while, but they soon began to be weary of them. Also the penguins are a very wholesome diet, and very pleasant, especially when a little salted; and as for salt, we could have loaded our ship with it, being very good and white, made by the sun, and found in standing ponds of salt water near the shore.

The penguins are so easily killed, and are found in such vast multitudes on that island (which, for that reason, is so called), that our men loaded the long-boat with them twice in one day, and we reckoned there were no less than seven thousand in the boat each time.

Here we travelled up into the country in search of

our men and made our signals, but had no answer to them nor heard any intelligence of them. We saw some people here at a distance, scattering about; but they were but few, nor would they be brought by any means to converse with us or come near us.

We spread ourselves over the country far and wide; and here we shot hares and wild fowl again in abundance, the country being much the same as before, but something more bushy, and here and there a few trees, but they were a great way off. There is a large river which empties itself into this bay.

Finding no news here of our men, I ordered the Madagascar ship to weigh and stand further north, keeping as near the shore as he might with safety, and causing his men to look out for the signals, which if they discovered they should give us notice by firing three guns.

They sailed the height of Cape Blanco, where the land falling back makes a deep bay, and the sea receives into it a great river at several mouths, some of them twenty leagues from the other, all farther north. Here they stood into the bay till they made the land again; for at the first opening of the bay they could not see the bottom of it, the land lying very low.

The captain was doubtful what he should do upon the appearance of so large a bay, and was loth to stand farther in, lest the land, pushing out into the sea again afterwards, and a gale springing up from seaward, they might be shut into a bay where they had no knowledge of the ground; and upon this caution they resolved among themselves to come to an anchor for that evening, and to put farther out to sea the next morning.

Accordingly the next morning he weighed and stood off to sea; but the weather being very fine, and the little wind that blew being S.W. by S., he ventured to stand in for the shore, where he found two or three small creeks and one large river; and sending in his shallop to sound and find out a good place to ride in, upon their making the signal that they had found such a place, he stood in and came to an anchor in eleven fathom good ground, half a league from the shore, and well defended from the northerly and easterly winds, which were the winds we had any reason to fear.

Having thus brought his ship to an anchor, he sent his shallop along the shore to give me an account of it, and desire me to come up to him, which accordingly we did; and here we resolved to ride for some time in hopes to hear from our little army. We went on shore, some or other of us every day, and especially when five of our men, going on shore on the north side of the river, had shot three Peruvian sheep and a black wild bull; for after that they ranged the country far and near to find more, but could never come within shot of them, except three bulls and a cow, which they killed after a long chase.

We lay here till the 16th of February without any news of our travellers, as I called them. All the hope we had was that five of our men, asking my leave to travel, swore to me they would go quite up to the Andes but they would find them; nay, they would go to the Spanish gentleman himself if they did not hear of them, and obliged me to stay twenty days for them, and no longer. This I promised them, and giving them everything they asked, and two of the Peruvian

sheep to carry their ammunition, with two dozen of rockets for signals, a speaking-trumpet, and a good perspective glass, away they went; and from them we had yet heard no news, so that was our present hope.

They travelled, as they afterwards gave an account, one hundred and twenty miles up the country, till they were at last forced to resolve to kill one of their guinacoes or sheep to satisfy their hunger, which was a great grief to them, for their luggage was heavy to carry; but, I say, they only resolved on it, for just as they were going to do it, one of them roused a deer with a fawn, and by great good luck shot them both; for having killed the doe, the fawn stood still by her till he had loaded his piece again and shot that also.

This supplied them for four or five days plentifully, and the last day one of my men being by the bank of the river, for they kept as near the river as they could, in hopes to hear of them that way, saw something black come driving down the stream; he could not reach it, but calling one of his fellows, their curiosity was such that the other being a good swimmer, stripped and put off to it, and when he came to it he found it was a man's hat. This made them conclude their fellows were not far off, and that they were coming by water.

Upon this they made to the first rising ground they could come at, and there they encamped, and at night fired some rockets (they kept looking out, you may be sure), and after the third rocket was fired they, to their great joy, saw two rockets rise up from the westward, and soon after that a third, and in two days more they all joyfully met, as you shall hear.

We had been here, as I have said, impatiently

expecting them a great while; but at last the man at the main-top, who was ordered to look out, called aloud to us below that he saw a flash of fire, and immediately, the men looking to landward, they saw two rockets rise up in the air at a great distance, which we answered by firing three rockets again, and they returned by one rocket, to signify that they saw our men's signal.

This was a joyful exchange of distant language to both sides, but I was not there; for, being impatient, I had put out and sailed about ten leagues farther; but our ship fired three guns to give me notice, which, however, we heard not, and yet we knew they fired too; for it being in the night, our men, who were very attentive with their eyes as well as ears, saw plainly the three flashes of the guns, though they could not hear the report, the wind being contrary. This was such certain intelligence to me, and I was so impatient to know how things went, that having also a small gale of wind, I weighed immediately, and stood back again to our other ship; it was not, however, till the second day after we weighed that we came up to them, having little or no wind all the first day; the next day, in the morning, they spied us, and fired the three guns again, being the signal that they had got news of our friends.

Nothing could be more to my satisfaction than to hear that they had got news, and it was as much to their satisfaction as to ours, to be sure, I mean our little army; for if any disaster had happened to us, they had been in a very odd condition; and though they might have found means to subsist, yet they would have been out of all hope of ever returning to their own country.

Upon the signal I stood into the bay, and came to an anchor at about a league to the northward of our other ship, and as far from the shore, and as it were in the mouth of the river, waiting for another signal from our men, by which we might judge which side of the river to go ashore at, and might take some proper measures to come at them.

About five o'clock in the evening, our eyes being all up in the air, and towards the hills for the appointed signals, beheld, to our great surprise, a canoe come rowing to us out of the mouth of the river; immediately we went to work with our perspective glasses. One said it was one thing and one said it was another, till I fetched out a large telescope out of the cabin, and with that I could easily see they were my own men, and it was to our inexpressible satisfaction that they soon after came directly on board.

It might very well take up another volume as large as this to give a farther account of the particulars of their journey, or rather their journey and voyage; how they got through the hills and were entertained by the generous Spaniard, and afterwards by the wealthy Chilian; how the men, greedy for gold, were hardly brought away from the mountains; and how once they had much ado to persuade them not to rob the honest Chilian who had used them so well, till my lieutenant, then their captain, by a stratagem seized on all their weapons, and threatened to speak to the Spaniard to raise all the Chilians in the mountains and have all their throats cut; and yet that even this did not suffice, till the two midshipmen, then their lieutenants, assured them that at the first opening of the hills and in the rivers beyond they would have

plenty of gold; and one of the midshipmen told them that if he did not see them have so much gold that they would not stoop to take up any more, they should have all his share to be divided among them, and should leave him behind in the first desolate place they could find.

How this appeased them till they came to the outer edge of the mountains, where I had been, and where my patron the Spaniard left them, having supplied them with sixteen mules to carry their baggage, and some guinacoes, or sheep of Peru, which would carry burthens and be good to eat also.

Also how here they mutinied again, and would not be drawn away, being insatiable in their thirst after the gold, till about twenty, more reasonable than the rest, were content to move forward; and after some time the rest followed, though not till they were assured that the picking up of gold continued all along the river, which began at the bottom of the mountains, and that it was likely to continue a great way farther.

How they worked their way down these streams with still an insatiable avarice and thirst after the gold to the lake called the Golden Lake, and how here they were astonished at the quantity they found; how after this they had great difficulty to furnish themselves with provisions, and greater still in carrying it along with them till they found more.

I say, all these accounts might suffice to make a volume as large as all the rest. How at the farther end of this lake they found that it evacuated itself into a large river, which, running away with a strong current to the S. S. E., and afterwards to the S. by E., encouraged them to build canoes, in which

they embarked, and which river brought them down to the very bay where we found them; but that they met with many difficulties, sunk and staved their canoes several times, by which they lost some of their baggage, and in one disaster lost a great parcel of their gold, to their great surprise and mortification. How at one place they split two of their canoes where they could find no timber to build new ones; and the many hardships they were put to before they got other canoes. But I shall give a brief account of it all and bring it into as narrow a compass as I can.

They set out, as I have said, with mules and horses to carry their baggage, and the Spaniard gave them a servant with them for a guide, who carrying them byways and unfrequented, so that they might give no alarm at the town of Villa Rica or anywhere else, they came to the mouth of the entrance into the mountains, and there they pitched their tent.

N.B. — The lieutenant who kept their journal, giving an account of this merrily in his sea language, expresses it thus: — "Being all come safe into the opening that is in the entrance of the mountains, and being there free from the observation of the country, we called it our first port, so we brought to and came to an anchor."

Here the generous Spaniard, who at his own request was gone before, sent his gentleman and one of his sons to them, and sent them plenty of provisions, as also caused their mules to be changed for others that were fresh, and had not been fatigued with any of the other part of the journey.

These things being done, the Spaniard's gentleman

caused them to decamp and march two days farther into the mountains, and then they encamped again, where the Spaniard himself came incognito to them, and with the utmost kindness and generosity was their guide himself, and their purveyor also, though two or three times the fellows were so rude, so ungovernable, and unbounded in their hunting after gold, that the Spaniard was almost frighted at them, and told the captain of it. Nor indeed was it altogether without cause; for the dogs were so ungrateful that they robbed two of the houses of the Chilians, and took what gold they had, which was not much indeed; but it hazarded so much the alarming the country and raising all the mountaineers upon them, that the Spaniard was upon the point of flying from them in spite of all their fire-arms and courage.

But the captain begged him to stay one night more, and promised to have the fellows punished and satisfaction to be made; and so he brought all his men together and talked to them, and inquired who it was; but never was such a piece of work in the world. When the new captain came to talk of who did it and of punishment, they cried they all did it, and they did not value all the Spaniards and Indians in the country; they would have all the gold in the whole mountain, ay, that they would, by ——, and swore to it, and if the Spaniard offered to speak a word to them they would whip his head off, and the like.

However, a little reasoning with them brought some of the men to their senses, and the captain, who was a man of sense and of a smooth tongue, managed so well that he brought about twenty-two of the men and the two lieutenants and surgeons to

declare for his opinion, and that they would act better for the future; and with these he clapped in between the other fellows and separated about eighteen of them from their arms, for they had run scattering among the rocks to hunt for gold, and when they were called to this parley had not their weapons with them. By this stratagem he seized eleven of the thieves and made them prisoners; and then he told the rest in so many words, that if they would not comply to keep order and obey the rules they were at first sworn to and had promised, he would force them to it, for he would deliver them bound hand and foot to the Spaniards, and they should do the poor Chilians justice upon them; for that, in short, he would not have the rest murdered for them; upon this he ordered his men to draw up, to show them he would be as good as his word, but they considered of it and submitted.

But the Spaniard had taken a wiser course than this, or perhaps they had been all murdered, for he ran to the two Chilian houses where the rogues had plundered, and where, in short, there was a kind of little hubbub about it, and with good words, promising to give them as much gold as they lost, and the price of some other things that were taken away, he appeased the people; and so our men were not ruined, as they would certainly have been if the mountaineers had taken the alarm.

After this they grew a little more governable; but, in short, the sight of the gold and the easy getting it, for they picked it up in abundance of places — I say, the sight of the gold made them stark mad; for now they were not as they were before, trafficking for the owners and for the voyage; but as I had

promised the gold they got should be their own, and that they were now working for themselves, there was no getting them to go on, but, in short, they would dwell here; and this was as fatal a humour as the other.

But to bring this part of the voyage to an end. After eight days they came to the hospitable wealthy Chilian's house, who I mentioned before; and here, as the Spaniard had contrived it, they found all kind of needful stores for provisions laid up as it were on purpose; and, in a word, here they were not fed only but feasted.

Here again the captain discovered a cursed conspiracy, which, had it taken effect, would, besides the baseness of the fact, have ended in their total destruction; in short, they had resolved to rob this Chilian, who was so kind to them; but, as I said, one of the lieutenants discovered and detected this villainous contrivance and quashed it, so as never to let the Spaniard know of it.

But, I say, to end this part, they were one-and-twenty days in this traverse, for they could not go on so easy and so fast now that they were a little army, as we did, who were but six or seven. At length they came to the view of the open country, and being all encamped at the edge of a descent, the generous Spaniard, with his three servants, took his leave, wishing them a good journey, and so went back, having the day before brought them some deer, five or six cows, and some sheep, for their subsisting at their entrance into and travel through the plain country.

And now they began to descend towards the plain, but they met with more difficulty here than they expected; for as I observed that the way for some miles

went with an ascent towards the farthest part of the hill, that continued ascent had by degrees brought them to a very great, and in some places unpassable, descent; so that however my guide found his way down when I was through, it was not so easy for them to do it who were so many in number, and encumbered with mules and horses and with their baggage, so that they knew not what to do; and if they had known that our ships were gone away, there had been some odds but, like the old Israelites, they would have murmured against their leader and have all gone back to Egypt. In a word, they were at their wits' end, and knew not what course to take for two or three days, trying and essaying to get down here and there, and then frighted with precipices and rocks, and climbing up to get back again. The whole of the matter was that they had missed a narrow way where they should have turned off to the south-east, the marks which our men had made before having not been so regular and exact just there as in other parts of the way, or some other turning being so very like the same that they took one for the other; and thus going straight forward too far before they turned, they came to an opening indeed, and saw the plain country under them as they had done before, but the descent was not so practicable.

After they had puzzled themselves here, as I said, two or three days, one of the lieutenants, and a man with him, seeing a hut or house of a Chilian at some distance, rode away towards it; but passing into a valley that lay between, he met with a river which he could by no means get over with the mules, so he came back again in despair. The captain then resolved to send back to the honest rich Chilian, who had enter-

tained them so well, for a guide, or to desire him to give them such directions as they might not mistake.

But as the person sent back was one of those who had taken the journal which I mentioned, and was therefore greatly vexed at missing his way in such a manner, so he had his eyes in every corner, and pulled out his pocket-book at every turning, to see how the marks of the places agreed; and at last, the very next morning after he set out, he espied the turning where they should all have gone in to have come to the place which they were at before. This being so remarkable a discovery, he came back again directly without going to the Chilian's house, which was two days' journey further.

Our men were revived with this discovery, and all agreed to march back; so having lost about six days in this false step, they got into the right way, and in four more came to the descent where I had been before.

Here the hill was still very high, and the passage down was steep and difficult enough; but still it was practicable, and our men could see the marks or cattle having passed there as if they had gone in drifts or droves; also it was apparent that by some help and labour of hands the way might be led winding and turning on the slope of the hill, so as to make it much easier to get down than it was now.

It cost them no small labour, however, to get down, chiefly because of the mules, which very often fell down with their loads, and our men said they believed they could, with much more ease, have mounted up from the east side to the top, than they came from the west side to the bottom.

They encamped one night on the declivity of the

hill, but got up early and was at the bottom and on the plain ground by noon. As soon as they came there they encamped and refreshed themselves, that is to say, went to dinner; but it being very hot there, the cool breezes of the mountains having now left them, they were more inclined to sleep than to eat; so the captain ordered the tent to be set up, and they made the whole day of it, calling a council in the morning to consider what course they should steer and how they should go on.

Here they came to this resolution, that they should send a man or two a considerable way up the hill again, to take the strictest observation he could of the plain with the largest glasses they had, and to mark which way the nearest river or water was to be seen; and they should direct their course first to the water, and that if the course of it lay south or any way to the east of the south, they would follow on the bank of it, and as soon as it was large enough to carry them they would make them some canoes or shallops, or what they could do with the most ease, to carry them on by water; also they directed him to observe if he could see any cattle feeding at a distance, or the like.

The messenger returned and brought them word that all the way to the east and so on to south-east they could discover nothing of water, but that they had seen a great lake or loch of water at a great distance which looked like a sea, and lay from them to the northward of the east about two points; adding that they did not know but it might afterwards empty itself to the eastward, and it was their opinion to make the best of their way thither.

Accordingly the next morning they decamped

and marched east-north-east very cheerfully, but found the way much longer than they expected, for though from the mountains the country seemed to lie flat and plain, yet when they came to measure it by their feet they found a great many little hills; little, I say, compared to the great mountains, but great to them who were to travel over them in the heat, and with but very indifferent support as to provisions; so that, in a word, the captain very prudently ordered that they should travel one three hours in the morning and three hours in the evening, and encamp in the heat of the day to refresh themselves as well as they could.

The best thing they met with in that part of the country was that they had plenty of water; for though they were not yet come to any large, considerable river, yet every low piece of ground had a small rill of water in it, and the springs coming out from the rising grounds on the sides of the mountains being innumerable, made many such small brooks.

It cost them six days' travel with two days' resting between to advance to that river of water, which from the height of the mountains seemed to be but a little way off. They could not march by their computation above ten or twelve miles a day, and rest every third day too, for their luggage was heavy and their mules but few, also some of their mules tired and jaded by their long march or fell lame, and were good for nothing.

Besides all this, the days which I call days of rest were really not so to them, for those intervals were employed to range about and hunt for food, and it was for that more than for want of rest that they

halted every third day. In this exercise they did, however, meet with such success that they made shift to kill one sort of creature or another every day sufficient to keep them from famishing; sometimes they met with some deer, other times with the guinacoes, or Peruvian sheep, and sometimes with fowls of several kinds, so that they did pretty well for food.

At length, viz., the seventh day, they came to a river which was at first small, but having received another small river or two from the northern part of the country, began to seem large enough for their purpose, and as it ran east-south-east they concluded it would run into the lake, and that they might float down this river if they could make anything to carry them.

But their first discouragement was the country was all open, with very little wood and no trees, or very few to be found large enough to make canoes or boats of any sort; but the skill of their carpenters, of which they had four, soon conquered this difficulty; for coming to a low swampy ground on the side of the river, they found a tree something like a beech, very firm, good sort of wood, and yet soft enough to work easy; and they went to work with this, and at first made them some rafts, which they thought might carry them along till the river was bigger.

While this was doing (which took up two or three days), the men straggled up and down; some with their guns to shoot fowls, some with contrivances to catch fish, some one thing, some another; when on a sudden one of their fishermen, not in the river, but in a little brook which afterwards runs into the river,

found a little bit of shining stuff among the sand or earth in the bank, and one cried he had found a piece of gold. Now, it seems all was not gold that glittered, for the lump had no gold in it, whatever it was; but the word being given out at first, it immediately set all our men a-rummaging the shores of every little rill of water they came at to see if there was no gold; and they had not looked long but they found several little grains of gold, very small and fine, not only in this brook but in several others. So they spent their time the more cheerfully because they made some purchase.

All this while they saw no people nor any signals of any; except once on the other side of the river, at a great distance, they thought they saw about thirty together, but whether men or women, or how many of each, they could not tell, nor would they come any nearer, only stood and gazed at our people at a distance.

They were now ready to quit their camp and embark, intending to lay all their baggage on the rafts, with three or four sick men, and so the rest to march by the river-side, and as many as could to ride upon the mules; when on a sudden all their navigation was put to a stop, and their new vessels, such as they were, suffered a wreck.

The case was thus: they had observed a great many black clouds to hang over the tops of the mountains, and some of them even below the tops, and they did believe it rained among the hills; but in the plain where they lay and all about them it was fair and the weather fine. But in the night the carpenters and their assistants, who had set up a little tent near the river-side, were alarmed with a

great roaring noise (as they thought) in the river, though at a distance upwards; presently after they found the water begin to come into their tent, when running out, they found the river was swelling over its banks, and all the low grounds on both sides of them.

To their great satisfaction it was just break of day, so that they could see enough to make their way from the water; and the land very happily rising a little to the south of the river, they immediately fled thither. Two of them had so much presence of mind with them as to pick up their working tools, at least some of them, and carry off, and the water rising gradually, the other two carpenters ventured back to save the rest, but they were put to it to get back again with them; in a word, the water rose to such a height that it carried away their tent and everything that was in it, and which was worse, their rafts (for they had almost finished four large rafts) were all lifted off from the place where they were framed, which was a kind of dry dock, and dashed all to pieces, and the timber, such as it was, all carried away; the smaller brooks also swelled in proportion to the larger river, so that, in a word, our men lay as it were surrounded with water, and began to be in a terrible consternation; for though they lay in a hard, dry piece of ground, too high for the land-flood to reach them, yet had the rains continued in the mountains they might have lain there till they had been obliged to eat one another, and so there had been an end of our new discovery.

But the weather cleared up among the hills the next day, which heartened them up again; and as the flood rose so soon, so the current being furiously

rapid, the waters ran off again as easily as they came on, and in two days the water was all gone again. But our little float was shipwrecked, as I have said, and the carpenters finding how dangerous such great unwieldy rafts would be, resolved to set to it and build one large float with sides to it like a punt or ferry-boat. They worked so hard at this, ten of the men always working with them to help, that in five days they had her finished. The only thing they wanted was pitch and tar to make her upper work keep out the water; and they made a shift to fetch a juice out of some of the wood they had cut, by help of fire, that answered the end tolerably well.

But that which made this disappointment less afflicting was, that our other men, hunting about the small streams where this water had come down so furiously, found that there was more gold, and the more for the late flood. This made them run straggling up the streams; and, as the captain said, he thought once they would run quite back to the mountains again. But that was his ignorance too, for after awhile, and the nearer they came to the rising of the hills, the quantity abated; for where the streams were so furious the water washed it all away and carried it down with it, so that by the end of five days the men found but little, and began to come back again. But then they discovered that though there was less in the higher part of the rivers, there was more farther down, and they found it so well worth while that they went fishing along for gold all the way towards the lake, and left their fellows and the boat to come after.

At last, when nothing else would do it, hunger

called them off, and so once more they got all their company together again; and now they began to load the float; indeed, it might be called a luggage-boat; however, it answered very well, and was a great relief to our men; but when they came to load it they found it would not carry so much by a great deal as they had to put in it; besides that, they would be all obliged to march on foot by the shore, which had this particular inconvenience in it, that whenever they came to any small river or brook which run into the other, as was very often the case, they would be forced to march up a great way to get over it, or unload the great float to make a ferry-boat of it to waft them over.

Upon this they resolved that the first place they came at where stuff was to be had for building they would go to work again, and make two or three more floats not so big as the other, that so they might embark themselves and their stuff, and their provisions too all together, and take the full benefit of the river where it would afford them help, and not some sail on the water and some go on foot upon the land, which was very fatiguing.

Upon this, as soon as they found stuff, as I have said, and a convenient place, they went all hands to work to build more floats or boats, call them as you will. While this was doing, all the spare men and all the men at spare hours spent their time and pains in hunting about for gold in the brooks and small streams, as well those they had been at before as others, and that after they had as it were plundered them at the first discovery; for as they had found some gold after the hasty rain, they were loth to give it over, though they had

been assured there was more to be found in the lake where they were yet to come than in the brooks.

All this while their making the floats went slowly on, for the men thought it a great hardship to keep chopping of blocks, as they called it, while their fellows were picking up of gold, though they knew they were to have their share of what they found as much as if they had been all the while with them. But it seems there is a kind of satisfaction in the work of picking up gold besides the mere gain.

However, at length the gold failing, they began to think of their more immediate work, which was going forward; and the carpenters having made three more floats like flat-bottomed barges, which they brought to be able to carry their baggage and themselves too, if they thought fit, they began to embark and fall down the river; but they grew sick of their navigation in a very few days; for before they got to the lake, which was but three days' going, they run several times on ground, and were obliged to lighten them to get them off again, then load again and lighten again, and so off and on till they were so tired of them that they would much rather have carried all their baggage and have travelled by land; and at last they were forced to cast off two of them, and put all their baggage on board the other two, which at best, though large, were but very poor crazy things.

At length they came in sight of their beloved lake, and the next day they entered into the open part or sea of it, which they found was very large, and in some places very deep.

Their floats, or what they might be called, were by no means fit to carry them upon this inland sea; for

as, if the water had been stirred by the least gust of wind, it would presently have washed over them and have spoiled, if not sunk, their baggage; so they had no way to steer or guide them whenever they came into deep water, where they could not reach the ground with their poles.

This obliged them as soon as they came into the open lake to keep close under one shore, that is to say, to the right hand, where the land, falling away to the S. and the S. by E., seemed to carry them still forward on their way; the other side, widening to the N., made the lake seem there to be really a sea, for they could not see over it unless they went on shore and got up upon some rising ground.

Here at first they found the shore steep too, and a great depth of water close to the land, which made them very uneasy; for if the least gale of wind had disturbed the water, especially blowing from off the lake, they would have been shipwrecked close to the shore. However, after they had gone for two days along the side by the help of towing and setting as well as they could, they came to a flatter shore and a fairer strand, to their great joy and satisfaction.

But if the shore proved to their satisfaction for its safety, it was much more so on another account; for they had not long been here before they found the sands or shore infinitely rich in gold, beyond all they had seen or thought of seeing before. They had no sooner made the discovery but they resolved to fall on it as upon a lasting spoil that was to enrich them all, and they went to work with such an avaricious rage that they seemed as if they were plundering an enemy's camp, and that there was an army at hand to drive them from the place; and, as it proved, they

were right to do so, for in this gust of their greedy appetite they considered not where they were, and upon what tender, ticklish terms their navigation stood. They had indeed drawn their two floats to the shore as well as they could, and with pieces of wood, like piles stuck in on every side, brought them to ride easy, but had not taken the least thought about change of weather, though they knew they had neither anchor or cable, nor so much as a rope large enough to fasten them on the shore.

But they were taught more wit to their cost in two or three days, for the very second night they felt a little unusual rising of the water, as they thought, though without any wind, and the next morning they found the water of the lake was swelled about two feet perpendicular, and that their floats by that means lay a great way farther from the shore than they did before, the water still increasing.

This made them at first imagine there was a tide in the lake, and that after a little time it would abate again; but they soon found their mistake, for after some time they perceived the water, which was perfectly fine and clear before, grew by degrees of a paler colour, thick and whitish, till at last it was quite white and muddy, as is usual in land-floods; and as it still continued rising, so they continued thrusting in their floats farther and farther towards the shore, till they had, in short, lost all the fine golden sands they were upon before, and found the lake overflowed the land so far beyond them that, in short, they seemed to be in the middle of the lake, for they could scarce see to the end of the water, even on that very side where but a few hours before they were fast on shore.

You may easily judge that this put them into a great consternation, and they might well conclude that they should be all drowned and lost, for they were now as it were in the middle of the sea upon two open floats or rafts, fenced nowhere from the least surge or swell of the water, except by a kind of waste board about two feet high built up on the sides, without any caulking or pitching, or anything to keep out the water. They had neither mast or sail, anchor or cable, head or stern, no bows to fence off the waves, or rudder to steer any course, or oars to give any motion, but like a flat-bottomed punt they thrust them along with such poles as they had, some of which were about eight or ten feet long, and which gave them a little way, but very slowly. All the remedy they had in this case was to set on with their poles towards the shore and to observe by their pocket compasses which way it lay; and this they laboured hard at, lest they should be lost in the night and not know which way to go.

Their carpenters in the meantime, with some spare boards which they had, or rather made, raised their sides as well as they could to keep off the wash of the sea, if any wind should rise so as to make the water rough, and thus they fenced against every danger as well as they could, though, all put together, they were in but a very sorry condition.

Now they had time to reflect upon their voracious fury in ranging the shore to pick up gold, without considering where and in what condition they were, and without looking out on shore for a place of safety. Nay, they might now have reflected on the madness of venturing out into a lake or inland sea of that vast extent in such pitiful bottoms as they had under them.

Their business, doubtless, had been to have stopped within the mouth of the river, and found a convenient place to land their goods and secure their lives; and when they had pitched their camp upon any safe high ground, where they might be sure they could neither be overflowed or surrounded with water, they might have searched the shores of the lake as far as they thought fit; but thus to launch out into an unknown water, and in such a condition as to their vessels as is described above, was most unaccountably inconsiderate.

Never was a crew of fifty men, all able and experienced sailors, so embarked or drawn into such a snare, for they were surrounded with water for three or four miles in breadth on the nearest shore, and this all on a sudden, the country lying low and flat for such a breadth, all of which appeared dry land and green like the fields but the day before, and without question they were sufficiently surprised.

Now they would have given all the gold they had got, which was very considerable too, to have been on shore on the wildest and most barren part of the country, and would have trusted to their own diligence to get food; but here, besides the imminent danger of drowning, they might also be in danger of starving; for had their floats grounded but upon any little hillock, they might have stuck there till they had starved and perished for hunger. Then they were in the utmost anxiety too for fear of wetting their powder, which if it happened they could never have made serviceable again, and without it they could not have killed anything for food if they had got to the shore.

They had in this exigence some comforts, however, which might a little uphold their spirits, and without which indeed their condition must have been deplorable and desperate. First, it was hot weather, so that as they had no shelter against the cold if it had come, they had no cold to afflict them; but they rather wanted awnings to keep off the sun than houses to keep off the cold. Second, the water of the lake was all fresh and very good, even when it looked white and thick, yet it was very sweet, and drank wholesome, and good tasted. Had it been salt water, and they thus in the middle of it, they must have perished for thirst. Third, they being now floating over the drowned lands only, the water was not very deep, so that they could reach ground and set along their rafts with their poles; and this, to be sure, they failed not to do with the utmost diligence.

They had also the satisfaction to observe, though it was not without toiling in an inexpressible manner, that they did gain upon the shore, and there was a high land before them which they did draw towards, though very slowly, and at a very great distance.

But then they had another discouragement, namely, that they saw the day declined and night came on apace, and, in short, that it was impossible they could reach the high land which they saw by daylight, nor did they know what to do or how to go on in the night.

At length two bold fellows offered themselves to strip and go off, either to wade or swim to the shore, which they had yet daylight enough to do, being, as they judged, about three miles, though they found it about four miles; and from thence to find means to

make a fire or light to guide them to the shore in the dark.

This was indeed a desperate attempt, but the two fellows being good swimmers and willing to venture, it was not impracticable. They had light linen drawers on, open at the knees, and their shirts; and they took a little bottle each in their pockets with some gun-powder in them close stopped, with other materials for kindling a fire. Weapons they had none, but each man a knife and a hatchet fastened round their waist in a little belt, and a light pole in their hands to help when they waded, which they expected to do most part of the way. They had no provisions with them but a bottle with some good brandy, in their pockets.

When they went off you are to suppose the water about four feet to five feet deep, so they chose to swim rather than wade, and as it was very seldom much deeper, they had often opportunity to stand on the firm ground to rest themselves. In this posture they went on directly towards the land, and after they had by swimming and wading together advanced about a mile, they found the water grew shallower, which was a signal to them that they should reach the hard ground in a little time, so they walked cheerfully on in about three feet water for near a mile more.

Their companions soon lost sight of them, for they being in white and the water white too, and the light declining, they could not see them at a mile's distance. After this they found the ground falling lower, so that they had deeper water for half a mile more all the way; after which they came to flat ground again for near two miles more, and at length

to the dry land, to their great satisfaction, though it was then quite night.

Their comrades had been near an hour in the dark, that is to say, with only a dusky light, and began to be greatly at a loss, not being able to see the compass. They had made shift to get over the half-mile of deeper water pretty well; for though it was too deep for the men to wade, as above, yet they could reach the bottom with their poles, and at that time they happened to feel a little breeze of wind fair in their way, which both refreshed them with its cool breath and also gave them a kind of a jog on their way towards the shore.

At length, to their great joy, they saw a light; and it was the more to their joy because they saw it just before them, or, as the seamen call it, right ahead, by which they had the satisfaction to know they had not varied their course in the dark. It seems their two men had landed upon a fair rising ground, where they found some low bushes and trees, and where they had good hard dry standing, and they soon found means to pick out a few withered dry sticks with which they made a blaze for the present, having struck fire with the tools they were furnished with, as above.

By the light of this blaze they gave the first notice to their comrades, as above, that they were landed; and they again, as was agreed beforehand, fired two guns as a signal that they saw it and were all safe; also by the light of this fire they gave themselves so much light as to find more dry wood, and afterwards their fire was so strong and good that they made the green wood burn as well as the dry.

Their companions were now come into the shoal

water in which, as I said, the men waded, but as their floats did not draw above a foot or eighteen inches water at most, they went on still; but at length, being within about half a mile of the hillock where the two men were, they found the water so shallow that their floats would not swim. Upon this more of the men went overboard with poles in their hands sounding, as we may call it, for deeper water, and with long puddling about they found the ground fall off a little in one place, by which they got their floats about a quarter of a mile farther; but then the water was shallow again, not above a foot water. So, in a word, they were fain to be content, and running fast aground they immediately began, though dark, and themselves very much fatigued, to unload their ships and carry all on shore on their backs.

The first thing they took care to land was their ammunition, their gunpowder, and arms, not forgetting the *ammunition de bouche*, as the French call it, I mean their victuals, and with great joy they got to their two comrades; then they fetched their proper materials for their tent and set it up, and having refreshed themselves they went all to sleep, as they said, without so much as a sentinel placed for their guard; for as they saw no inhabitants, so they feared no enemies; and it may be supposed they were weary enough to make them want rest, even in the extremest manner.

In the morning they had time enough to reflect upon the madness of such rash adventures, as you shall hear. Their floats indeed remained as they had left them, and the water was ebbed away from them above two miles, that is to say, almost to the deep half-mile mentioned above; but they heard a surpris-

ing noise and roaring of the water on the lake itself, the body of which was now above seven miles from them.

They could not imagine what this roaring should mean, for they felt no wind, nor could they perceive any clouds at a distance that looked as if they brought any squalls of wind with them, as they are often observed to do; but when they came nearer the water they found it had a kind of swell, and that there was certainly some more violent motion at the farther distance; and in a little while, looking behind them towards the shore where their comrades were, they found the water began to spread over the flat ground again; upon which they hastened back, but having a good way to go they were obliged to go knee-deep before they reached to the hillock where their tent stood.

They had not been many hours on shore before they found the wind began to rise, and the roaring which before they heard at a distance grow louder and nearer, till at length the floats were lifted up and driven on shore by the wind, which increased to a storm; and the water swelled and grew rough, and as they were upon the lee shore the floats were soon broken in pieces, and went some one way and some another.

In the evening it overcast and grew cloudy, and about midnight they had their share of a violent rain, which yet they could see was more violent towards the mountains of the Andes and towards the course of the river which they came down in the floats. The consequence of this was, naturally, that the third day the waters of the lake swelled again to a frightful height, that is to say, it would have been

frightful to them if they had been upon it, for they suppose it rose about two fathoms perpendicular, and the wind continuing fresh, the water was all a white foam of froth ; so that had they had a good large boat under them, she would have scarce lived there.

Their tent kept them dry, and as they were on dry land and too high to be reached by any inundation, they had no concern upon them about their safety, but, to be sure, took this for sufficient notice not to come up the lake again in haste unless they were better provided with boats to ride out a storm.

Our men began now to think they had taken their leave of the Golden Lake, and yet they knew not how to think of leaving it so soon. They were now fourteen or fifteen leagues off of that fine golden shore where they took up so much, nor did they know the way to it by land ; and as for going by water, that they were unprovided for several ways, besides the waters kept up to a considerable height, and the winds blew fresh for six or eight days together.

All these obstructions joined together put them upon considering of pursuing their march by land, in which, however, they resolved to coast the lake as near as they could to the eastward, till, if possible, they should find that the waters had some outlet, that is to say, that the lake emptied itself by some river towards the sea, as they concluded it certainly must.

They had not yet seen any inhabitants or any sign of them, at least not near them ; they did, or it is thought they fancied they did, see some on the other side of the river, but they would not come within reach of them on any account, so that it is doubtful whether they really saw them or no.

Before they decamped for a march it was needful to get some provisions if possible, and this made them the more desirous of finding out some convertible creatures, but it was in vain. They killed a wild cow and a deer, and this was all they could get for some time; and with this they set forward, taking their course east and rather northerly, in order to come into the same latitude they set out in at their first embarking on the river.

After they had marched thus for about three days, keeping the lake on the north side of them, and always in view, at length, on the third day, in the evening, coming to a little hill which gave them the prospect of the country for some length N. E., they saw plainly a river issuing out of the lake, and running first east, then bending to the south; it was also easy to perceive that this river was at that time much broader than in its usual course, for that they could see a great many trees, which probably grew on the bank of the river, standing as it were in the middle of the water, the banks being overflowed both ways very considerably.

But as they mounted the hill which they stood on to a greater height, they discovered farther north, at the distance of five or six miles, according to their account, a much larger river, which looked, compared to the first river, rather like a sea than a river, which likewise issued out of the lake and ran E. by S. towards the sea, which river they supposed to be in the same manner swelled with a land water, or fresh, as the lake was, to a prodigious degree.

This prospect brought them to a more serious consultation as to the measures they should take to proceed on the journey; and as they could easily see

there was little or no use to be made of the rivers for their travelling while the water was thus above the ordinary banks, so that they could not know the proper channels, and also that the currents were exceeding swift, so they resolved to stock themselves with provisions if possible, and continue their journey by land.

To this purpose they first made it their business to catch some more guinacoes, or large sheep, which they knew would not only feed them, but also carry their luggage, which was still heavy and very troublesome to them, and yet absolutely necessary too. But all their endeavour was in vain, for though they saw several, and found that the country was pretty full of them, and some they killed, yet they could not take one alive (which was the thing they chiefly wanted) by any means that they could contrive.

Among the rest of the creatures that they shot for food they very often found wild cows and bulls, and especially, as they found afterwards, on the north side of the river; but the most surprising thing to them that they had yet met with was still to come. They had descended from the hill where they at first discovered the smaller river, and where they had set up their tent, resolving to march on the lower grounds, as near the river as they could, so as to be out of danger of the water, that they might find, if possible, some way over to come at the great river, which they judged to be the stream most proper for their business.

Here they found a rich, pleasant country, level and fruitful; not so low as to be exposed to the overflowing of the river, and not so high as to be dry and barren. Several little brooks and streams

of water, rising on the side of the hill they came from, ran winding this way and that, as if to find out the river, and near the river were some woods of very large trees.

The men, not forgetting the main chance, fell to washing and searching the sand and gravel in these brooks for gold; but the harvest of gold seemed to be over, for here they found none. They had also an occasion to discover, that till the land waters were abated, there was no stirring for them, no, not so much as to cross the first river; nor, if they did, could they find it in their hearts to venture, not knowing but the waters might still rise higher, and that the two rivers might swell into one, and so they should be swallowed up, or, if not, they might be surrounded on some island, where they should perish for want of provisions; so they resolved to fetch their baggage from the hill as well as they could, and encamp in those pleasant plains, as near the river as they could, till the waters should abate.

While they stayed here they were so far from having hopes that the waters would abate, that it rained violently for almost three days and nights together, and one of those rainy mornings, looking out at their tent door (for they could not stir abroad for the rain), they were surprised when, looking towards the river, which was just below them, they saw a prodigious number of black creatures in the water, and swimming towards the shore where they were.

They at first imagined they were porpoises, but could not suggest anything of that kind at such a distance from the sea, when one of the men, looking at them through a glass, cried out they were all black

cattle, and that he could perceive their horns and their heads. Upon this, others looking with their glasses also, said the same. Immediately every man ran to his gun, and notwithstanding it rained hard, away they marched down the river's side with all the speed they could make.

By that time they reached the river-bank, their wonder increased, for they found it was a vast multitude of black cattle, who finding the waters rise between the two rivers, and by a natural sagacity, apprehensive of being swept away with the flood, had one and all took the waters, and were swimming over to this side for safety.

You may very well suppose the fellows, though they wanted a few such guests as these, yet were terrified with their multitude, and began to consider what course to take when the creatures should come to land, for there was a monstrous many of them. Upon the whole, after a short consultation, for the creatures came on apace, they resolved to get into a low ground where they perceived they directed their course, and in which there were a great many trees, and that they would all get up into the trees, and so lie ready to shoot among them as they landed.

Accordingly they did so, except that five of them, cutting down some large boughs of a tree, got into a little thicket close to the water, which they so fortified with the boughs of the trees, that they thought themselves secure within, and there they posted themselves, resolving to expect them and take their hazard.

When the creatures came to land it was wonderful to observe how they lowed and roared, as it were to bid one another welcome on shore, and spreading

themselves upon the neighbouring plain, immediately lay down, and rolling and stretching themselves, gave our people notice that, in short, they had swum a great way and were very much tired.

Our fellows, you may suppose, laid about them, and the five men that fixed themselves in the thicket had the fairest opportunity, for they killed eleven or twelve of them as soon as they set their foot on shore, and lamed as many.

And now they had a trial of skill, for as they killed as many as they knew what to do with, and had their choice of beef, if they killed a bull they let him lie, as having no use for him, but chose the cows as what they thought was only fit for eating.

But, I say, now they had a trial of skill, namely, to see if they could maim some of them so as not to kill them, and might bring them to carry their luggage. This was a kind of a fruitless attempt, as we afterwards told them, to make a baggage-horse of a wild bull.

However, they brought it so far to pass that having wounded several young bulls very much, after they had run roaring about with the hurt, they lay down and bled so as that it was likely they would bleed to death, as several of them really did; but the surgeon observing two of them to be low enough that he might go to them and do what he would with them, he soon stopped the bleeding, and, in a word, healed the wounds. All the while he was doing this, he caused food, that is to say, grass and boughs of trees, to be brought to them for food, and in four or five days the creatures were very well. Then he caused them to be hampered with ropes and tied together, so that they could neither fight

with their heads or run away with their heels; and having thus brought them to a place just by their tent, he caused them to be kept so hungry and almost starved, that when meat was carried them they were so tame and thankful that, at last, they would eat out of his hand, and stretch out their heads for it, and when they were let a little looser would follow him about for a handful of grass like a dog for a bone.

When he had brought them thus to hand, he by degrees loaded them and taught them to carry; and if they were unruly, as they were at first, he would load them with more than they could well carry, and make them stand under that load two or three hours, and then come himself and bring them meat and take the load off, and thus in a few days they knew him so well that they would let him do anything with them. When they came to decamp they tied them both together with such ropes as they had, and made them carry a very great weight. They tried the same experiment with two more, but they failed; one died and the other proved untractable, sullen, and outrageous.

They had now lain here twelve days, having plenty of provisions, in which time the weather proving fair, the land waters ran off, and the rivers came to their old channels, clear and calm. The men would gladly have gone back to the sands and flat shore of the lake, or to some other part, to look for gold; but that was impracticable now, so they marched on, and in about two days they found the first river seemed to turn so much to the south that they thought it would carry them too far out of their way, for their orders were to keep about the

latitude of forty to fifty degrees, as is said before, so they resolved to get over the first river as soon as they could. They had not gone far, but they found the river so shallow that they easily forded it, bulls and all, and being safely landed they travelled across the country directly to the great river, which they found also very low, though not like to be forded as the other was.

Now they thought they were in the way of their business, and here they resolved to see if a tree or two might be found big enough to make a large canoe to carry them down this river, which as it seemed large, so the current seemed to be less rapid and furious, the channel being deep and full.

They had not searched long, but they found three trees, as they thought large enough, and they immediately went to work with them, felled them and shaped them, and in four days' time they had three handsome canoes, one larger than the rest, and able to carry in all fifteen or sixteen men; but this was not enough, so they were forced to look out farther for two trees more, and this took them up more time. However, in about a week they launched them all. As for days, they had lost their account of time; so that as they had sometimes no room to distinguish one day from another, so they after some time quite forgot the days, and knew not a Sunday from a working day any more.

While these canoes were making, the men, according to the old trade, fell to rummaging the shores of this river, as they had done the other, for gold; nor did they wholly lose their labour, for in several places they found a pretty deal; and here it was that a certain number of them, taking one of the canoes

that were first made, took a voyage of their own heads, not only without command but against command; and having made a little mast and sail to it, went up towards the lake, resolving to go quite into the lake to find another golden shore or gold coast, as they called it.

To give a particular account of this wild undertaking would be too long, nor would the rogues give much account of it themselves; only, in short, that they found a sand pretty rich in gold, worked upon it five days indefatigably, and got a good deal, sufficient, had they brought it back, to have tempted the rest to have gone all away to the same place; but at the end of the five days some were for returning and others for staying longer, till the majority prevailed to come back, representing to the rest that their friends would be gone, and they should be left to starve in that wild country, and should never get home; so they all got into the canoe again, but quarrelled when they were in, and that to such an unreasonable height, that, in short, they fought, overset the boat, lost all their gold and their arms, except three muskets, which were lashed under the thwarts or benches of the canoe, spoiled their ammunition and provision, and drowned one of their company; so they came home to the rest by weeping cross, wet and almost famished.

This was a balk to them, you may be sure, and put a damp to their new projects; and yet six of the same men were so bold afterwards as to demand to be dismissed and a canoe given them, and they would go back, they said, to the Golden Lake, where they did not doubt they should load the canoe with gold; and if they found when they came back we were gone,

they would find their way back through the mountains and go to the rich Spaniard, who they did not doubt would get them licence to go back to Europe with the galleons, and perhaps, they said, they might be in England before us.

But the captain quelled this mutiny, though there were four or five more come into it, and showing them the agreement they had made with me, their commander, the obligation they were under, and the madness of their other proposals, prevailed with them to go forward with the rest and pursue the voyage, which he now represented to be very easy, being, as it were, all the way down hill, that is to say, with the stream, for they all knew the river they were in must go to the sea, and that in or near the latitude which they knew the ship had appointed to wait for them. However, to soften them a little, and in some measure to please them, he promised that if they met with any success in the search after gold in the river they were in, as he did not question but they should, he would consent to any reasonable stop that they should propose, not exceeding five days in a place, and the places to be not less than five leagues off from one another.

Upon these terms they consented, and all embarked and came away, though extremely mortified for the loss of one of their companions, who was a brave, stout fellow, very well beloved by all the company, but there was no remedy; so they came on in five canoes, and with a good stock of provisions, such as it was, viz., good fresh beef cured in the sun, and fifteen Peruvian sheep alive, for when they got into the country between the two rivers they found it easy to catch those creatures, who before that would not come near them.

And now they came down the river apace, till they came to another golden shore, where, finding some quantity of gold, they claimed their captain's promise, and accordingly they went all on shore to work, and pretty good success they had, picking up from among the sands a considerable quantity of gold; and having stayed four of the five days, they found they had cleared the place, which was not of a long extent, and so they cheerfully came on.

They came on now for eleven days together very willingly, but then found the channel of the river divided itself, and one went away to the left, and the other to the right. They could not judge which was the best to take; but not questioning but that they would meet again soon, they took the southernmost channel as being most direct in their latitude; and thus they proceeded for three or four days more, when they were obliged to put into the mouth of a little river that fell into the other, and made a good harbour for their little fleet.

Here, I say, they were obliged to put in for want of provisions, for they had ate up all their guinacoes, and their two tame bulls too, the last of which they soon repented, as you will see presently.

After they had been hunting, and shot a couple of deer and a cow, with a kind of hare as big as an English fox, they set forward again very merrily, and the more so because they had another little piece of a gold coast, where for two days they had very good luck again; but judge how they were surprised, and in what a consternation they were, when coming farther down the same river they heard a terrible noise in the river, as of a mighty cataract or water-fall, which increased as they came forward, till it

grew so loud that they could not hear themselves speak, much less hear one another.

As they approached, it was the more frightful; so at length, lest they should be hurried into it before they were aware, they went all on shore, doing all by signs and dumb postures, for it was impossible to hear any sound.

Notwithstanding this it was near six miles to the place, which, when they perceived, some of them went back to bring on the boats, and so brought them as near the place as they durst, and run them on shore into a little hollow part of the bank just large enough to hold them. When they had thus secured the boats they went to view the waterfall; but how were they astonished when they found that there were not one, but five waterfalls, at the distance of about two miles from one another, some more, some less; that the water fell a prodigious height, so that it was impossible any boat could bear to launch down the cataract and not be dashed in pieces.

They now saw there was no remedy but that they must lose the benefit of their five canoes, which had been so comfortable to them, and by which they had come above four hundred miles in a little time with safety and pleasure.

These cataracts made the river perfectly useless to them for above twenty miles, and it was impossible to drag their canoes that length over land; so, in short, they unloaded them, and for their own satisfaction they turned one, the biggest of them, adrift, and let it go to the first cataract, placing themselves so beyond that they might see it come down, which they did, and had the pleasure of seeing it dashed in pieces on the rocks below.

Well, there was no remedy, but they must leave their boats behind them; and now, as I have said, they had time to repent killing their two tame bulls, who would have done them good service; but it was too late to look back upon what was done and over so many days before. They had now no remedy if they would go forward but to take up their baggage upon their shoulders and walk on foot. The only help they had was that they had gotten five guinacoes more, which though they were hungry and would fain have eaten, yet as they carried at least five hundredweight of their luggage, they chose to fast and walk rather than feast and work; so they went on as well as they could till they got past these falls, which, though not above twenty miles, cost them five days' labour.

Then they encamped again to refresh themselves, and consider of what was next to be done. They were thus long upon this short journey for many reasons: —

1. Because they were obliged to employ the best part of two days in hunting for their food, in which time five of them, swimming over the river to shoot at some black cattle, extremely fatigued themselves in pursuing them, but did, however, shoot five cows and bulls; but then it was at such a distance that it was more pains to drag the flesh along to the river-side than it was worth to have it, only that they were indeed hunger-starved and must have it.

2. They found still some little quantity of gold in the water, that is to say, below the falls, where the water, after by falling with such force it had made a pit or hole of a vast depth, as is usual at a mill-tail, had thrown up a shoal again at perhaps a mile distance; there they took up some gold whenever the water was low enough to come to the shoal.

8. The weight of their baggage made them travel heavy, and seldom above five or six miles a day.

Being now come to the open river, they thought of building more floats, but they were discouraged from this consideration, that they did not know but in a few days' march there might be more waterfalls, and then all their labour would be lost; so they took up their tent and began to travel again.

But here, as they kept the river close on board, as the seamen call it, they were at a full stop, by the coming in of another river from the S.W., which, when it joined the river they went along by, was above a quarter of a mile broad, and how to get over it they knew not. They sent two men up the additional river some length, and they brought word that it was indeed narrower by much, but nowhere fordable, but deep and rapid.

At the same time they sent two more nimble fellows down the coast of the great river to see if there were no more waterfalls, who brought them word there were none for sixty miles.

While they lay here, at the point of the influx, expecting the return of their scouts, they used what diligence they could in getting provisions; and among the rest, they killed three cows and a bull on the other side of the biggest river; but not knowing how to bring them over, they concluded to go over, as many as could swim, which was the better half of them, and sit down by it and roast and boil upon the spot as much as they could eat, and then bring over as much as they could for their fellows.

They got boughs of trees and bound them together, then wrapped the meat in the hides and laid it on the wood, and made a hundred little contrivances

to get it over; so that on one side or other they got all the meat eaten or brought over. What they got on their own side the river they made better shift with.

On the return of their scouts they found there was no remedy but to build some new vessels of one kind or another, to take in their baggage and provision, which they did, after the manner of their first floats, for they found no trees big enough to make canoes. When, therefore, they had made one great float, they resolved to make two small boats, like yawls or skiffs, with which they might tow their large float or barge; and as this they might do with small stuff, so they found means to line them within and without with the bull's hides, and that so dexterously joined, and lapped or rolled one over another, that no water came through, or but very little. With these two boats they ferried over the small rivers with ease, each boat carrying six men, besides two to row; and when they were over the small rivers, the two boats served to tow their great punt or barge close by the shore.

The greatest difficulty was for tow-lines to draw the boats by, and that they supplied by twisting a strong, tough kind of flag or rush, which they found in the river, of which, with great application, they made a kind of rope-yarn, and then twisting it again, made it very strong. This was the voiture with which they carried themselves down quite to the sea; and one of these boats it was that we spied, as above, coming to us in the bay.

They had yet above four hundred and fifty miles to the sea, nor could they at any time tell or guess how far off it might be. They went on more or less

every day, but it was but slowly, and not without great labour, both of rowing and towing. Their provisions also cost them much labour, and it was a great deal of difficulty that they were obliged, first to hunt and kill it, and then to bring it to the camp, which was always close to the river's side.

After they had travelled thus some time, following the course of the river, behold they came to a place where of a sudden they could see no farther bank of the river, but it looked all water like the sea. They could not imagine what it must be, so the next day they rowed towards it with one of their little boats, when they were surprised to find that it was the northern branch of the river which they had seen go off before they came at the waterfalls, which river being now increased with many other great waters, was now so great that the mouth of it might be said to be four or five miles over, and rather received this river which they were on into it than ran into this; but after this it contracted itself again, though still it was supposed to be a mile and a half over.

They were not glad of this conjunction of the waters at all, because the great water being thus joined, they found the stream or current more violent, and the water upon the least stirring of the wind much more turbulent than it was before; and as their great float drew but little water, and swam flat upon the surface, she was ready to founder upon every occasion. This obliged them almost every night to seek for some little cove or creek to run her into, as into a harbour to preserve her; for if the wind blew off shore, they had enough to do to keep her from driving off; if it blew off from the

river, though it were otherwise little wind enough, yet it made a rippling or chopping of the waters, that they had much difficulty to keep it from filling her.

All the country on the side of this river was a little higher ground than ordinary, which was its security from land-floods, and their security too; for sometimes the river was seen to rise, and that so as to overflow a great extent of land on the other side. Hence perhaps the other side might be esteemed the most fruitful, and perhaps might be the better land if it had but half of the art and industry of an European nation to assist the natural fertility of the soil, by keeping the water in its bounds, banking and fencing the meadows from the inundations and freshes which were frequently sent down from the Andes, and from the country adjoining.

But as it now was, those lower lands lay great part of the year under water; whether it was the better or the worse for the soil, that no judgment can be made of till some people come to settle there, to whom it shall be worth while to make experiments of that kind.

This part of the country they were now in resembled, as they hinted, the county of Dorsetshire and the downs about Salisbury, only not lying so high from the surface of the water, and the soil being a good fruitful dark mould, not a chalky solid rock as in the country about Salisbury, &c.

Here they found a greater quantity of deer than they had seen in all their journey, which they often had the good luck to kill for their supply of food, the creatures not being so shy and wild as they had found farther within the country.

It may be noted here, and it is very observable, that in all this journey I do not learn that they saw either wolf or fox, bear or lion, or indeed any other ravenous creature which they had the least reason to be shy or afraid of, or which indeed were frightful to the deer; and this perhaps may be the reason why the number of those creatures is so great, which, as I have said, is greater there than at other places.

After they had feasted themselves here, as above, for some days, they resolved to begin their new kind of navigation and see what they could make of it; but they went very heavily along, and every now and then, as I have said above, the water was too rough for them, and they were fain to put into harbour and sometimes lie two and three days; however, they plied their time as well as they could, and sometimes the current setting over to their side and running strong by the shore, they would go at a great rate, insomuch that one time they said they went above thirty miles in a day, having besides the current a little gale of wind right astern.

They reckoned that they went near two hundred miles in this manner, for they made the best of it; and at the end of this two hundred miles it was by their reckoning that our five men who travelled into the country so far, found them when they saw the hat swimming down the stream; which hat it seems one of them let fall overboard in the night.

They had, I say, travelled thus far with great difficulty, the river being so large; but as they observed it growing larger and larger the farther they went, so they said they did not doubt but that in a little more they should come to the sea.

They also observed that now as they found the

waters larger and the rivers wider, they killed more fowls than formerly, and particularly more of the duck-foot kind, though they could not perceive any sea-fowls or such as they had been used to. They saw a great many wild swans and some geese, as also duck and mallard and teal; and these, I say, increased as they drew nearer the sea.

They could give very little account of the fish which the rivers produced, though they sometimes caught a few in the smaller river, but as they had neither fishing hook or nets, which was the only omission in my fitting them out, they had no opportunity to furnish themselves. They had likewise no salt, neither was it possible to furnish them with salt, so they cured their meat in the sun, and seasoned it with that excellent sauce called hunger.

The account they gave of discovering our five men was thus, in short: They had been for two days pretty successful in their navigation, as I have described it, but were obliged to stop and put in at the mouth of a little river, which made them a good harbour; the reason of their stay was they had no victuals, so by consent they all went hunting, and at night having shot two guinacoes and a deer they came to supper together in their great tent, and having fed heartily, you may suppose, on such good provisions, they began to be merry; and the captain and officers having a little store left, though not much, they pulled out their bottles and drank every one a dram to their good voyage and to the merry meeting of their ships, and gave every man a sup.

But their mirth was increased beyond expressing when two of the men who were without the tent door cried out it lightened; one said he saw the flash, he

was sure, and the other said he thought he saw it too; but as it happened their backs were towards the east, so that they did not see the occasion. This lightning was certainly the first flash of one of our five men's rockets, or the breaking of it, and the stars that were at the end of it up in the air.

When the captain heard the men say it lightened, he jumped off his seat and called aloud to them to tell him which way; but they foolishly replied to the N.W., which was the way their faces were when they saw it; but the word was no sooner spoken but the two fellows fell a-hollaing and roaring, as if they were distracted, and said they saw a rocket rise up in the air to the eastward.

So nimble were the men at this word that they were all out of the tent in a moment, and saw the last bounce or flash of the rocket, with the stars, which, spreading themselves in the air, shone with the usual bright light that it is known those things give.

This made them all set up a shout of joy, as if they imagined their fellows, who were yet many miles from them, should hear them; but the captain and officers, who knew what they were to do on this occasion, ran to their baggage and took out their own rockets and other materials and prepared to answer the signal.

They were on a low ground, but at less than a mile's distance the land went ascending to a round crown or knoll pretty high. Away they ran thither and set up a frame in an instant; but as they were making these preparations, behold, to confirm their news, they saw a third rocket rise up in the air in the same place as before.

It was near an hour from the first flash, as they called it, before they could get all things ready; but then they fired two rockets from the adjoining hill soon after one another, and after that, at about ten minutes' distance of time, a third, which was just as by agreement and was perfectly understood, the rockets performing very well. Upon this they saw another single rocket rise up, which was to let them know that their former was seen and understood.

This was, you will conclude, a very joyful night, and the next morning they went all hands to work at the boats, getting out of the creek early, and made the best of their way; however, with all they could do, they could not go above twelve miles that day, for the current setting over to the other shore had left them, and in some places they would have rather an eddy stream against them, and this discouraged them a little; but depending that they were near their port, and that their friends were not far off, they were very cheerful. At night they looked out again for rockets, which failed not to rejoice their hearts again, and with this addition, that it appeared their friends were not above four or five miles off. They answered the rockets punctually, and proceeding early the next day, they met in the morning, joyfully enough, as has been said.

We were overjoyed at meeting, you may be sure; but to see the pitiful boat or periagua they came on board in a little surprised us, for indeed it was a wonder they should be able to make it swim under them, especially when they came out into the open sea.

As soon as we had the boat on board we hauled it up into the ship for a relic, and taking two of the men with us we manned out all our ships' boats to go and fetch the rest, for they were, as these men told us, about seventeen miles up the river still, and could not come any farther, their boats being not able to bring them along and the river growing very broad and dangerous. The eldest of my midshipmen came in this first boat, but the captain and the other stayed with the men, who were very unruly and ever and anon quarrelling and wrangling about their wealth, which indeed was very considerable; but they were above twice as far up the river as the men told us, having halted after the boat left them.

When our boats came to them and took them in, I ordered they should be set on shore, and their tents put up on the shore, until I had settled matters a little with them, having had an account how mutinous and fractious they had been, and I made them all stay there until I had fully adjusted everything with them about their treasure, which indeed was so much that they scarce knew how to govern themselves under the thought of it.

Here I proposed conditions to them at first: that all the gold should be shared before they went on board, and that it should be put on board the ship as goods for every man's single account; that I would give them bills of lading for it; and I offered to swear to them to deliver it into every man's possession separately at the first port we should come to anchor at in England or France; and that at that said port they should every man have the one hundred pounds I had promised them, as above, for

the undertaking this journey delivered to them in money, that is to say, in gold dust; and that they alone should have full liberty to go on shore with it, and go whither they would, no man whatever but themselves being allowed to set foot on shore in the same place, distress excepted. This they insisted on, because they had done some things which, if I would, I might have pursued some of them for, perhaps to the gallows; but that I promised to forgive them and to inquire no more after it.

In a word, there had been a scuffle among them in which one of their canoes was overset, as was said, and one of their number drowned at the same time when they lost a great part of their gold; and some were thought to have done it maliciously too.

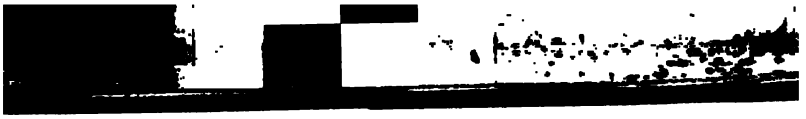
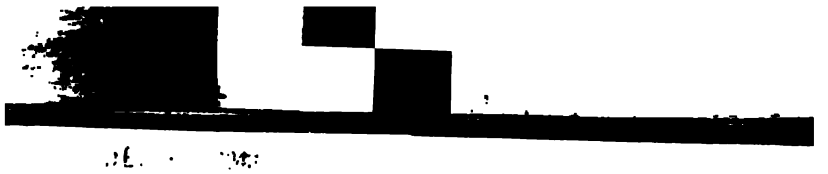
However, as I had no occasion to trouble them on that score, not being upon the spot when it was done, so having made this capitulation with them I performed it punctually, and set them all on shore with their wealth in the river of Garonne, in France: their gold, their one hundred pounds reward for their journey, their wages, and their share of pearl, and other advantages, made them very rich, for their cargo when cast up on shore might perhaps amount to about four hundred pounds a man. How they disposed of themselves or their money I never gave myself the trouble to inquire, and if I had it is none of my business to give an account of it here.

We dismissed also near fourscore more of our men afterwards in a little creek, which was at their own request; for most of them having been of the Madagascar men, and by consequence pirates,

they were willing to be easy, and I was as willing to make them so, and therefore cleared with as many of them as desired it. But I return to our ship.

Having thus made a long capitulation with our travellers I took them all on board, and had leisure enough to have a long narration from them of their voyage, and from which account I take the liberty to recommend that part of America as the best and most advantageous part of the whole globe for an English colony, the climate, the soil, and above all the easy communication with the mountains of Chili, recommending it beyond any place that I ever saw or read of, as I shall farther make appear by itself.

We had nothing now to do but to make the best of our way for England; and setting sail from the mouth of the river Camerones, so the Spaniards call it, the 18th of January, in which we had a more difficult and unpleasant voyage than in any other part of our way, chiefly because being a rich ship, and not knowing how affairs stood in Europe, I kept to the northward as far as the banks of Newfoundland, steering thence to the coast of Galitia, where we touched, as above; after which we went through the channel, and arrived safe in Dunkirk road the 12th of April, and from thence gave private notice of our good fortune to our merchants and owners, two of whom came over to us, and received at our hands such a treasure as gave them reason to be very well satisfied with their adventure. But to my grief, my particular friend, the merchant who put us upon all the curiosity and all the discovery you have heard of, was dead before our return, which if it

had not happened this new scheme of a trade round the world had, perhaps, never been made public till it had been put in practice by a set of merchants designed to be concerned in it from the new Austrian Netherlands.

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